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MOST REV. PATRICK JOHN RYAN, D. D.

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Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.
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MISSIONARY COUNTRIES, OLD AND NEW.

NOT very long ago, just a little while before this strange revolution which is taking place in the colonial world of Spain, a venerable and learned authority gave it as his opinion, that there was no future before the Latin Catholic nations, but to step down and become missionary countries, like any Protestant or infidel land. Now, when we recall the circumstance, it seems a noteworthy coincidence, that the distinguished and singularly erudite gentleman should have been himself a Spaniard.

Since that time, the relics of the Spanish colonial empire in America and Asia have passed in large part under the control of a non-Catholic government; and, as a matter of course, they have no other prospect from an ecclesiastical point of view, except to become missionary countries. Since that time also, the African estates of Portugal, which was the other great colonizing and evangelizing power of former days, seem to have passed over, under bond and seal, to a couple of the great northern nations. At least a right of preëmption is now vested in Germany and England; and there is left to the ancient suzerain only the melancholy duty of delivering over 914,000 square miles, from ancient Guinea on the northwest to Mozambique on the east, when the buyers shall call for their goods. And, whatever position these domains may have had in other times, or might have aspired to, under Catholic Portugal, they must needs henceforth be content with the lot of Catholic missions under Protestant powers. Again, two nations, which were never conspicuous for colonial expansion, but were equally brilliant with Spain and Portugal for evangelizing far-off countries, for enlightening the

heathen in the shadows of darkness and shedding divine dews in the valleys of death, have each received a check which has wounded them to the heart. France has enjoyed a protectorate over all the Eastern missions in Syria; and she has merited the position richly for the fund of heroic zeal, which she has poured forth in every line of Christian devotion. Now, the encroachments of a northern power have rendered it necessary for his Holiness to reassure her that, in his policy, her position remains unchanged and her prestige undimmed. But the necessity for such a reassurance reveals the gravity of the shock which France has received; and the emergency, which a Pontifical statement has met for once, may soon develop into a political friction which no eccleciastical measure can ease. Italy, too, late and slow in the race of nations, may have thought in her religious heart, when she started on her colonizing venture about the quarters of Abyssinia, that her children and her priests could take a share in the civilizing of the world. We have little doubt that her priests and the children, who still remain to her of her ancient faith, would have fallen no wise short of her best antecedents in the old missions of Japan and India. Nor will they fall short thereof in other lands and under other skies. But, as to Abyssinia, what became of her grandiose ambition as a united kingdom, and what became of her devout aspirations as a Catholic people, will appear about as interesting to the antiquary as her Pompeii or Herculaneum, which he digs up from the ashes of Vesuvius—and about as important, too.

I.

When our authority expressed his opinion, that the Latin Catholic nations seemed to have no future before them but to become missionary countries, he conveyed the meaning that the cradle-lands of Christianity in Europe would take rank, by a retrograde movement, with lands and people which, by a law of progress, had mounted from being nonentities to a recognized position under the government of the Church. Australasia, Alaska and Matabeleland are missionary countries under the Propaganda. The people of the two fair peninsulas of the Mediterranean, who had seen the Christian Church and been cradled by her, long before the barbarians beyond the pale had come within reach of her voice, and that other brilliant nation also in the center of Europe, which had been itself the very center of all medieval life and civilization, were in our days to step down from the vantage-ground of Christian tradition, thought and instinct; were to be disowned, in a measure, as incapable of sustaining any longer the full constitution of ecclesiastical legislation and organic life; and were to sink to the level of any infidel or Protestant

nation in Europe, Asia or Africa. A great fall, if possible; and a great dishonor, if probable. For a great honor it has ever been to present the full features of Christian life and manhood in the body corporate of a nation, instead of the mere adolescence of promise, or the infancy of hope. An honor undoubted for a Christian nation to be neither unformed, nor deformed. And a dishonor immeasurable, after being a source and dispenser of light and doctrine to the new-coming races of the world, now to sink, and hear them salute: So thou too art fallen, and become even as one of ourselves!

In Church parlance, a missionary country corresponds very much to what a "territory" of the Union is, compared with a State. We shall not enter into technical particulars, and distinguish with precision the missionary from the canonical state of national organization. For the free and discursive view, which we wish to take of the phenomenon before us by means of parallels and analogies, we shall consider as missionary all countries, where the Church has been impeded in the course of her functions, whether by the total want of a Christian state to help her, or by the apostacy of a state once Catholic, and now alien to her purposes and constitution. In this sense, we rank as missionary all the states which are non-Catholic, though like England, an ancient isle of Saints, they may have received baptismal grace a thousand years before the Reformation, or though, on the contrary, like Prussia, they may have scarcely been christened, before being seduced to heresy. We reckon as missionary those nations which have come into existence since the fifteenth century, and quite irrespective of the Church's influence, like this American Republic; or which, developing and forming after the same date, had begun indeed under the full influence of the Church's control, but ended otherwise through the vicissitudes of politics. In this sense, Catholic Canada became a missionary country. Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines are in the act of undergoing this change, as certain facts, which have occurred already, indicate only too plainly. It is what might have been expected. There is no arguing about canonical rights with a military governor; and the administration of soldiers, however upright, is quite proof against fine points of Church canons, especially when the soldiers are American and the Church and her canons are Roman.

If we inquire for reasons, why the old stock of Catholic nations in Europe should undergo such a change, we are reluctant to admit the possibility of any reasons being adequate; still we can discern as many of them as there are consequences and effects of a century of revolutions. The relations of the state with the Church have been so strained by the men in charge of the secular power; they have been so entangled and so often snapped, that merely to mention the

twenty-eight last years of freemason government in Italy will recall to the mind a whole drama of bitter antagonism to the Church on the part of that state, whose one prime duty, if Christian, was to assist her. In Portugal, Spain and France, the central power has been dominated by anti-Christians, since Pombal, D'Aranda and Choiseul prepared the way for the great infidel Revolution of last century. All the machinery of concordats and Christian antecedents, of property rights and official relations, of nominations and stipends, has been wrenched and turned against the Church with the refined arts of constitutional and other methods, till her property has been expropriated, her institutions dispersed, her episcopate silenced, her very Sacraments and altars invaded and controlled. In older times, when men were so minded, they took a straighter path; they simply carried off both state and Church and became Protestant. Now Protestantism is generally dead. The age of revolution and infidelity has succeeded. And such is the magnitude of the question, which emerges from the environment, that his Holiness, when addressing the French Catholics some years ago, declared the very discussion of divorce between Church and state to be reserved for the Head of the Church alone.

Let us take a few random instances from these months just passed. The funds for repairing Churches and supporting them, or what is called "la Fabrique," have long been in the hands of that faithful trustee, the state; and a stone cannot be touched, nor a salary drawn, without the cognizance and active coöperation of state officials, oftentimes Jews. In addition to other grievances, they have lately subjected the administration of the Fabrique to a system of auditing and examination, which of itself, like a genuine "constitutional" measure, will eat up the greater part of the revenues of parishes. Church money is always legislated away well, when it is turned in to other receivers than the Church itself. The Cardinals of France addressed a letter to the government, praying for a delay in the application of so injurious a law. The answer came in the form of an insolent rebuke from a M. Sarrien to the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, telling him that Bishops were forbidden to consult together; that their powers are strictly limited to the district, whence they derive their title; that the Ministers "from the height of the tribune" have made frequent declarations against any such notion as the character of "mixed matter" (canonical and civil combined), in what concerns the revenues of ecclesiastical institutions; and that consequently the request of the Prelates is denied, that they be allowed to take a part, as representing the Church, in compiling regulations on the subject in question.

At Turin, last September, a great congress of 300 masonic lodges

met under the presidency of the Grand Orient of Rome, the Jew Nathan. The resolutions are identical with the policy so far pursued by the government of Italy; and, where the government policy will now advance farther, will be precisely on the lines where the resolutions run beyond it. On the subject of religious corporations, pious works of charity, and the appropriation by the state of all religious foundations heretofore made for educational purposes, the vote was passed in favor of "concentration, transformation, rearrangement (*raggruppamenti*), reform." Another resolution insisted upon the enforcement of a universal education, which should be lay and revolutionary, moral and physical, in all public and private schools, for the entire youth of Italy. Another provided for the fuller and immediate development of the masonic female lodges —to reach more effectually the sanctuary of the household and the family hearth. The men who pass these resolutions are themselves the rulers of the country.

At Florence, meanwhile, the art of "souping" is going on apace, in the evangelical schools of American and English proselytisers. On the roll of last year, there were 151 pupils in the day schools, and 170 in the Sunday schools. The poverty of the Italian poor is so grinding, that a mouthful to eat is more precious than the faith. Mgr. More observes that they say in excuse, the Italians will never become Protestants. That is quite true, he adds; because the poor children will be neither Catholic nor Protestant; they will become nothing at all. This, however, is not directly to our purpose. It is only an aggravation, imported by foreigners, to pile up the ills of the Catholic Church, already weighed down by an infidel state.

We are not possessed of strict premises, from which to draw by accurate reasoning any conclusion as to the future of such old Catholic countries, nor of the Spanish colonies now separated from their natural religious base. In moral and social affairs, mixed with the changing contingencies of politics, no syllogisms can be formed, nor rigid inferences deduced. We can but summon up certain analogies, and leave our readers to draw such inferences as seem likely and probable. But one point we beg to emphasize as sufficiently clear. It is that no change of canonical institution, no loosening of Catholic bonds, nor even the possible defection of great numbers of Catholics from their mother the Church, can in any light, or under any pretext whatever, be considered as an advance of Protestantism, as an accession to its territory, still less as a victory. The issue between Catholicity and Protestantism on the score of expansion was closed two centuries ago. Since then, while the Catholic Church has lost in one place, has gained in another, has moved over the world like the vital power she always is in governing men, and

not unlike the mighty tides ever ebbing and flowing of the free wills which she governs, never in all this time has an accession been made to what was once called Protestantism. This form of belief has not even held its own, in any part of the world. It has lost its prey in the direction of Catholicism; it has lost in the direction of infidelity; and what the Church has lost has never accrued to Protestantism. The thousand-and-one arms of non-Catholic propagandism have been only so many levers of nineteenth century indifferentism.

We shall now venture to offer some analogies, from the history of the past and the present, as a possible ground for inferences, with respect to the course of the future.

II.

We conceive that five or six different types may be comprised in the general notion of a missionary country. In the first place, there is a social condition such as faced the Apostles, when they beheld stretching out before them a whole world more or less civilized, with no visible agency friendly to them, some of the powers that were being positively hostile to them, but all existing in a condition of more or less stable civilization. This stability of peace and order was itself a preparation for the delivery of the Gospel. For, indeed, according as any stage in human life is higher in the possession of God's natural gifts, is it also a stage nearer to the reception of His supernatural graces. And the enjoyment of quiet, steadiness and intelligence, is a part of His natural Providence. The attendant evils, which may come of corruption and vice, are not of God's gift, but of man's accretions thereunto. So, without scrip or purse, without any sort of protection from civil powers, the Apostles went forth into the fields of human souls. This was also the history of missionary life in Japan and China, under St. Francis Xavier and his successors. The death which was braved and so often met, in fields like these, was incurred in spite of the peace and guarantees of civilization. It was the human protest of corrupt nature against the swelling tide of the supernatural, the weight of which it cannot bear.

Another type of missionary career was that which lay outside of any such civilized influence as arises from previous peace or previous conquest. It was one which faced the conditions of utter barbarism, of what Fr. Joseph Acosta called "the boars and crocodiles," in the woods of Brazil and Florida and Paraguay, in the wilds of the Moluccas, and amid the savages of Mindanao in the Philippines. In North America, this form of missionary life penetrated into the dens and holes of the hyenas and foxes, who under the name of the Five Nations occupied the valleys of the Genesee and the Mohawk.

Sometimes, it encountered only the soft and unwarlike characters of the islanders in the Antilles or the Solomon archipelago.

A third field of missionary labor differed from the two preceding, in that it was protected by the arm of powerful conquerors and Christian warriors, who had either reduced inferior races and laid them open to the peaceful arts of the catechist, or who were felt at least to be hard by, protecting with the glamor of their name the angels of peace and grace; and the missionary bands moved about freely among the subject classes. This was the history of many nations, under the Spanish domination, in South and Central America. It was also that of Goa and the adjacent territories under the Portuguese rule. The condition was not unlike that of Britain under the strong Roman power, when once the Empire had become Christian.

No one of these three kinds of missionary enterprises, in reducing new countries to the kingdom of Christ, could be of its own nature a final settlement of the religious condition. They were only the inauguration of a permanent state to follow, which sometimes never followed, or else failed to endure. It is the glory of the Spanish and Portuguese domination, that under it the Church always took root, unfolded rapidly and grew like the mustard-tree; while in other countries, as under the Vandal, the Saracen, the Turk and the Cossack, there ensued the absolute exclusion of Catholicism, root and branch. In lands so favored as those discovered by the Latin Catholic nations, the Church was seen to organize with even canonical regularity; and, just as a vast hierarchy existed in northern Africa before the Vandal invasion, so in India and South America the policy of Portuguese and Spanish discoverers, with the Catholic government behind them, produced the finest spectacle of Catholic states wedded to the Church, and laboring with it for the kingdom of God—human vice and cupidity notwithstanding.

We mention these three forms of missionary work, crude and transient as their conditions were, only to clear the ground for understanding other forms of settlement, which have become the normal state of so large a portion of the globe in our days. But, before we dismiss them, several considerations arise. We have a right to pause on these, out of justice to the old Catholic nations, and to ourselves also as fellow-Catholics. Still more may we pause, by way of tribute to the glorious Bride of Christ, so fertile at all times in her manifold resources for bringing nations forth from darkness into His admirable light.

And the first consideration which is suggested on every page of history, whether it be European, Asiatic, African or American, is that from the beginning till now the evangelization of the world has,

with but few exceptional episodes, been carried on by the Latin nationalities. We do not lay to their credit the work of Saints, like Cyril and Methodius, of Boniface and Patrick, beyond noting that they too imbibed their saintly instincts and drank in their divine powers, either through residence in the Eternal City or through intimate contact with the Christianity of Latin countries. Nor do we fail to make allowance for the fact that, when great movements were in progress for the reduction and civilization of the globe, the non-Latin nations were either themselves imperfectly reduced to the Kingdom of Christ, or after an honorable career were actually falling away from the unity of the Church. What we do advert to is the certain truth of history, that the hunters for souls, even before the Reformation, and much more since, have sprung out of the luxuriant Christianity on the European shores of the Mediterranean. Since the Reformation, nothing else might be expected by Catholics; but much more has been claimed by Protestants. And yet what have we seen? A negative instance and a positive one will convey the whole answer. In Japan, Englishmen and Dutchmen almost presided over the final extirpation of the Catholic Church; and they sold their wares over its grave. In the country where we now live, while the whole sea-board of the Atlantic from Maine to the Carolinas was growing into a great nation of Englishmen, with not a few other nationalities intermixed, not an Indian village was made Christian by all the millions there, not an Indian tribe was saved from extermination on all the broad lands there; while, at the same time, the whole country to the rear, from the Bay of Hudson to the mouth of the Mississippi, was traversed and evangelized in all its tribes by a little French colony on the shores of the St. Lawrence.

If an exception could be pleaded to this utter barrenness of a money-making nation, that exception would be found in the little beginning made in Maryland, when English Jesuits belonging to the same stock of faith and devotion as their brethren across the French frontier, carried the good tidings of grace and peace to the aborigines thronging around. But, if theirs was a missionary career, it can rank with no one of the three kinds described above. It must stand out as of a kind unique in history, peculiar to Maryland alone; when a gentle race of Indians, practically subject to a strong neighboring power, was anxious to receive grace and light; when the neighboring power was Catholic, with missionaries on hand ready to work and actually producing fruit among the savages; and yet the missionaries were crippled in their very first essay by the direct action of a Catholic proprietor and a Catholic governor.

These thoughts merit our reflection. They have arrested the at-

tention of others who were not Catholics. A Protestant preacher, Jonathan Boucher, speaking in Maryland just before the American Revolution, quoted with approbation the estimate formed by a Protestant Scotchman, Mickle, on the work accomplished by the French and Spanish missionaries, in America North and South; and it is to be observed that the Indians mentioned as examples of their success were precisely men of the most savage types ever known. He says: "The customs and cruelties of many American tribes still disgrace human nature; but in Canada and Paraguay the natives have been taught to relish the blessings of society, and the arts of virtuous and civil life." About this same time, when the Indians towards the west were in arms against the British colonies, it was a bitter complaint, re-echoed by the British Governors in their letters to the home authorities, that the Indians would be no nation at all but for the French of Canada!

Nothing could be truer, both for what the complaint said, and for what it did not say. It did not say explicitly that, wherever the blighting influence of the non-Catholic colonies reached, the march of sublime progress was inevitable and irresistible, in corrupting the native tribes and in extirpating them. Wherever the British colonist set his foot, he made terms with the natives by making their homes a desert. We may add that, wherever the missionary of the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel set his foot, he too came to terms; and either he withdrew, or the Indians did. And all this while, right in the savage dens of the Five Nations themselves, and far away from all human resource, there had been chosen souls won to Christ; a whole colony of Christians, or "praying Indians," were rescued thence when the tribes fell under the baleful influence of Albany; and the same "praying Indians," with other tribes of Canada, have survived to our day, some of them as distinct in feature as when they abandoned their kinsmen the Iroquois, others, far more numerous, blended by intermarriage with the whites. One may feel the throb of Christian pride, when he sees them but a few steps away, so to speak, from Montreal, at the Lake of the Two Mountains—full-blooded Indians, half-blooded Indians, meeting the French *habitant* in complexion, as they had been adopted by him in creed. But to find an Indian in the United States, one must go far out to a Western pen, called a reservation, where he will hear periodically of interesting feuds, the Indians shooting the whites, and the whites shooting the Indians with repeating rifles; or else, next to that, he will hear that the Indians are being hanged by United States Justices, or they are shooting one another. It is the very sublimity of English-speaking civilization, running smoothly in its native channels of rum, fraud and rapine.

In Mexico, we have the same beneficent influence of the Church in a much more ample form, owing no doubt to the high state of anterior civilization found there by the Spanish conquerors. Out of a population of 13,000,000, there are, as some state, 10,000,000 Indians; or, as others put it, half the population of Mexico is full-blooded Indian, four-fifths of the rest are a mixed breed, and about a million are pure white. Yet the Spaniards have been settled there during no less than 400 years, quite enough for an English breed to have wiped out two or three continents. In the Philippines, it is only too clear that there is a native population. They are the insurgents who, having been preyed upon by the freemasonry of governmental Spain, have paid back governmental Spain the full price of the article imported.

If we look at the ways and means employed for the civilization of native populations, we shall find the lesson quite as entertaining as anything else to be considered. From the end of the seventeenth century, and the apostolic age of Dr. Bray, commissary of the Bishop of London for the plantation of Maryland, the ambition of the Protestant world, with its headquarters in London and its ramifications in Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York and New England, ever floated in the felicitous dreams of erecting, possessing and conducting a Congregation de Propaganda Fide. Hard things were said of the Roman Propaganda. The smoothest talk never ceased to flow over a Protestant Propaganda. And, when the fight waxed hot at the end of last century between the Boston Puritans and the emissaries of Canterbury and London, who came to sit down in fat places of New England instead of cultivating spare diet and the Indians out in the frontier wigwams, Jonathan Mayhew flung the wicked practices of the Roman Propaganda in the teeth of him of Canterbury, and taunted him and his with having so often condemned the said practices of that "other famous society, De Propaganda Fide," and yet having imitated them; whereunto Archbishop Secker replied demurely, that "the Popish Society de Propaganda never was blamed in sermons before ours, for supplying those of their own Communion with the means of their own worship, but for making it their principal employment to bring over other Christians to that worship, which ours hath not done." Accordingly, never having brought over other Christians to their own worship, and having done with the Indians what we shall see presently, the said Congregation de Propaganda Fide celebrated its 200th anniversary of missionary prowess on Tuesday, March 8, of this year of grace, 1898. And its store in London wore glory on its windows: "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge: Founded, 1698." And St. Paul's Cathedral in the morning of March 8, and the same Cathe-

dral in the afternoon, with Guildhall thrown in, distributed glory, by the mouths of archbishops, bishops and my lords generally, to all the great missionaries of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, from Dr. Bray, the father and founder thereof, down to themselves.

Now, when this society had been at work during half a century and its missionaries had been drawing its salaries, Jonathan Edwards wrote in February, 1752, from Stockbridge, N. E., to a friend in London: "That society," he said, "have been vastly imposed upon by the representations of their missionaries." Having explained this point duly, he proceeds to depict the French missionaries: "The French here in America have been more faithful to those by whom they have been entrusted than the English—the French Government have been more faithful to their King—the French Missionaries more true to the interest of their religion—they have had their Missionaries constantly for many years amongst the most powerful of these Nations of North America, who have been great in their labours among them, using all the arts and subtile devices of the Romish clergy, prejudicing them against the Protestants and English by innumerable Jesuitical falsehoods; and by accounts we have from the Mohawks, the French fail not to make great use of our negligence as to their instruction, as an advantage to fix an ill opinion of us in their minds; telling them it is apparent the English care not for their good as they take no pains to instruct 'em in religion; at the same time offering their own assistance and labours for their eternal salvation, if they will be their friends." In the midst of so much unimpeachable truth, the only Jesuitical falsehood which the zealous Jonathan felt confident enough to mention was that the English were very negligent as to the instruction of the Indians—an assertion Jesuitically false; for it was just what he himself asserted in the same breath.

Dr. Samuel Johnson, after resigning the presidency of King's College, now Columbia College, New York, writes from Stratford in 1763, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, indulging in a side fling at the zealous Boston Puritans. The Episcopalian Johnson, though a world away in sentiment from Jonathan Edwards, agrees with him in two things; he stays in a comfortable home, while he runs down the Protestant missionaries, and he thinks the Protestant missionaries might just as well have stayed at home. Speaking of the Puritans of the Boston Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, he says: "I know of but two or three little clans of a kind of Christian Indians they have; not many more I believe than Dr. Barclay had." "A kind of Christian Indians!" We wonder what kind of an Indian and what kind of a Christian was a "kind of Christian Indian?" The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,

under his episcopal Grace of Canterbury, and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, under their Graces of Eternal Reprobation at Boston, were not over gracious to one another, beyond distributing the gifts of mutual damnation.

Now be it known of all men, that this inevitable Dr. Barclay, whose name recurs at every step in the quarrels between the two fraternal Graces of Boston and Canterbury, was a kind of St. Francis Xavier for his evangelical work among the Indians. The first time that we personally lighted upon him was on the 14th November, 1745, when the General Assembly of New York allowed "to the Rev. Henry Barclay, for instructing the Indians in the Christian Religion, from the 1st of September last to the 1st of September next, the sum of £20." This is the one documentary proof we have found, that he was a great apostolical preacher. Immediately afterwards, the same Assembly voted a tariff of premiums for the scalps of Indians: "£10 for the scalp of a male Indian over 16 years of age; and £5 for the scalp of any boy under 16 years of age." So that their estimate of the Rev. Mr. Henry Barclay's services to civilization amounted to the significant value of two men's scalps, or of four boys' scalps, allowing him twelve months to realize the same. Now the Rev. Henry Barclay himself did not appreciate the annual recurrence of such terms, as the facts of the sequel show. Nor did his Mohawks, for reasons which appear in the sequel. Somewhere between 1746 and 1748, the two parties change sides; the Rev. Mr. Barclay is no longer the evangelical agent and the Mohawks his patients; but the Mohawks are the agents, tomahawk in hand, and they are just looking for Barclay, who, we must suppose, has turned patient. They send in a petition to the effect that he has embezzled "for his singular service" the whole spot of land, which the Mohawk chiefs had set aside for him and his successors. Whence it appears that, if the Puritans had only "two or three little clans, of a kind of Christian Indians, not more than Dr. Barclay had," both Puritans and Episcopalians had gathered quite a special kind of Indians. Possibly they were not regenerate Christians by virtue of Christian baptism, but resurrectionist survivals who had outlived a Puritan scalping.

But we must not do injustice to this St. Francis Xavier of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Dr. Johnson writes a solemn book against Mayhew, and tells him that Dr. Barclay really worked with good success, and for ten years, among the Mohawks; and, making no allusion to the embezzlement of mission property, the Doctor goes on to show where the trouble really lay: "The last war, about 1745," he says, "threw them into such confusion; and the influence of Popish missionaries, and the wicked insinuations

of a certain great man in those parts, created such a disaffection in them, that his very life was in danger; so that he was obliged to desist." That is to say, he ran away. He was quite a martyr to heroic duty, worthy to be ranked with Jogues, Lallemant and Breboeuf.

To be sure, things had changed since the time when Fr. Jogues was brained by the tomahawk of one of these Mohawks. A price had been put by Bellomont, in 1700, on the head of any Jesuit who should be found south of Lake Ontario. Hence a free field of fair favor was opened for the missionaries under his Grace of Canterbury, and under the other graces of Boston. There was now no tainting of Popery going on among these unsophisticated tribes of the Five Nations, with the Tuscororas recently added. So Dr. Charles Chauncy complacently remarked, when preaching at the ordination of Bowman, and the "separation" of this apostolic gentleman for the ministry among the Six Nations. This was at Boston in 1762, when the field had been cleared of Jesuits during half a century. He said that "there were numerous tribes among them as yet untainted with Romish superstition;" there had been amongst them nought but the pure leavening with the doctrine of Mr. Thoroughgood Moor and Mr. Andrews, besides Dr. Barclay, not to mention the Bostonian apostles. But, only three years after Dr. Chauncy's sermon, a military gentleman, named Col. Bradstreet, sent in his report to the authorities about these same Indians, so pure and "untainted with Romish superstition." He said: "Of all the savages on the continent, the most knowing, the less useful and the greatest villains are those most conversant with the Europeans and deserve most the attention of Government by way of correction; and these are the Six Nations, Shawanes & De-Lawers." And so was justified the private and sad remark of Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Osbaldstone, Bishop of London, when they were discussing their Puritan rivals of Boston; he wrote in 1762: "It will be said we ought gladly to let others do, what we confess we have not been able to do ourselves in any great degree."

However, to the philosophical mind which seeks for the ultimate causes of phenomena, this spiritual bankruptcy of the Anglican missioners may be traced to several errors in the premises. There was a financial one; and there was a social one. The financial error had clearly been committed, in not following the wise advice of Dr. Bray, father and founder of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He had recommended expressly to the Bishop of London in 1696, that it should be in the power of the Society, the new Congregation de Propaganda Fide, "to propose and alot what pensions

they shall think fit to such Ministers as shall most hazard their persons in attempting the conversion of the native Indians." Now, we have found no record of other salaries, than those which made the missionaries comfortable, with interpreters and schoolmasters and wives, etc., to boot. Clearly an error was committed in not laying the extra bonus aside, for the man who should run in farthest, and make an "attempt," and get back safely when his scalp was in danger. Then there was a social omission, significantly alluded to by that very judicious fanatic, Dr. Douglass, M. D., who wrote between 1747 and 1750. "Our young missionaries," he observed, "may procure a perpetual alliance and commercial advantages with the Indians, which the Roman Catholick Clergy cannot do, because they are forbidden to marry; I mean our missionaries may intermarry with the daughters of the Sachems, and other considerable Indians, and their progeny will forever be a certain cement between us and the Indians." But Mr. William Smith, historian, of New York, remarks hereupon, that "Dr. Douglass expects too much;" and he himself confines his remarks to lamentations, which is a much more philosophical frame of mind than "great expectations," when treating of the London Congregation de Propaganda Fide.

In short, to dismiss this matter with some degree of seriousness, the Roman Propaganda had several resources exclusively its own for evangelizing heathen nations, though it could not offer marriage or money prizes. Several of them were noted as far back as 1662, in a letter from Virginia, addressed to the Rt. Rev. Father in God, Guilbert, Bishop of London. The writer said: That the consideration of the missionary power of Christian Humility and Charity "enforced the accute Acosta, after he had spent seventeen years conversing with the Heathen in the new World (though he was of a Church that pleads much for miracles) ingenuously to confesse, that the greatest and even the only miracle necessary to the conversion of those Heathen is the gracious life of Christians agreeable to that Christian faith, and in this he subscribes to St. Chrysostome." He goes on to plead urgency for this Christian life with its humility and charity; for "while the grasse growes, the steed starves." Hence there should be immediate enforcement of contributions of good tobacco, for the support of the missionaries. Too much bad tobacco has been passed off on them of late. And the consequence was, whether of the bad tobacco or of the good, that one hundred years later we find the grass still growing and the steed still starving, from New York to the Carolinas, in spite of the best tobacco that Virginia could raise, and in spite of the best salaries that the London Propaganda paid.

III.

The effort to point the contrast between the Catholic missionaries of France and the Gospellers of another type has made us somewhat discursive on colonial methods and ways, with reference to the Indians. But this must not excuse us from pointing a similar moral, with regard to the poor negroes.

We are all much interested in Porto Rico at present. Now we find record of an episode, in which the Spanish governor of this island had something to say to a British colonial governor in 1752. It is of a kind that ought to be fragrant with sweet recollections to the Abolitionists of a generation ago and to the Liberators of Cuba in our day. Governor George Thomas, of the Leeward Islands, sent on a letter of complaint to the Board of Trade in London, treating of a grievance, "worse on the Sugar Islands," he says, "than if the King of Spain urged a perpetual war",—as bad, no doubt, as if the beet sugar competition had arisen one hundred years before its time. It appears, that runaway slaves, who escaped from their barbarous lot under the British masters, not only fled to the Spanish plantations, but were wonderfully content to stay there. Governor Thomas has appealed to the Spanish Governor, who writes an answer from Porto Rico, which Thomas denounces as a sheer pretence. The letter was to this effect, that acting upon orders from his Sovereign the Spanish Governor found himself in the impossibility of delivering up "the negroes escaped from your government and come to this"; and he adds, that it has been so, "as your Honor knows," in all such cases heretofore: "All the slaves," he says, "who escape here, come to embrace the Roman Catholic Religion, as these six last (that you demand) have, and after being asked if they come with that intention, and they answer in the affirmative, they are absolutely free at the expiration of one year, during which time they are under the tuition of proper persons to instruct them in the rudiments of their religion, and give them the holy water of Baptism....Philip Ramires, Porto Rico, Oct. 1, 1753."

This must indeed have sounded like a mere pretence to people, whose traditions were such as animated all the English people of this continent and the adjacent islands. Under the later Stuarts and the glorious house of Orange, the Royal African Company figured, during fully forty years, in all kinds of documents as being a privileged corporation, entitled to receive every encouragement from the good colonial subjects of England, and to be well patronized in its lucrative employment of buying or stealing the black natives on the African coast. About the same time, there was loud expostulation to be heard, both in the North American colo-

nies and in the West Indies, against the fantastic notion that any one should think of having negroes baptized. They would become too conceited; they would begin to think of freedom. The people of Barbadoes, in 1680, declared in a public meeting against such conversion of negroes and against any baptizing of them. Though Maryland formed an honorable exception in many respects, its neighbor, Virginia, put limitations on the power of masters to manumit their slaves; and, if one were freed, he was hunted out of the country like a wolf. A Spanish ship was brought into the port of New York, and, besides other booty, negroes were found aboard. They declared that they were freedmen. The pious New York people "presumed" that they were not, and reduced them to slavery without further ceremony.

To such people the plea of a Spanish cavalier was unintelligible indeed, that negroes might be freed, when safe out of the tigers' dens, and that they might be instructed and baptized as Christians. But another generation has come which seems to have thought it so intelligible that it has gone to the Spanish islands itself to relieve the negroes of the Spaniards and the Spaniards of the islands.

The real facts of the case will appear less difficult to conceive, if we take account of the character of the Spaniard, and compare his natural pride with the marked spirit of gentleness which nothing but genuine Christianity could have produced in him. Mr. Boucher of Maryland endorsed the following singular description of different nationalities in their relations with slaves. It shows what Catholicism has done and has maintained in the spirit of Latin nations; and what Protestantism has undone and left a wreck in others. He says that what some one had already observed seems to him to be founded in fact: "The Spaniards, whose natural character is not supposed to be distinguished for gentleness, are said to be the most indulgent masters to slaves; next to them, the French; then the English; and last of all, the Dutch. I once heard an Indian make the same remark, respecting the French and English, in their treatment of Indians. The remark is not an uncommon one, that persons most clamorous about liberty are, in general (on a comparison with others), most apt to be domineering and tyrannical in their private characters; for the same reason, I suppose, that even tyrants, who have always been despots, are sometimes found to be indulgent and generous, whilst none are more apt to be insolent and tyrannical than those who, having been slaves, suddenly become possessed of freedom and authority over slaves."

One might go to the other end of the world in our own days, and he could witness a contemporary proof of the nobility of treatment, extended by this Catholic nation to a dependent race. A London

non-Catholic journal of a few months ago described with admiration the Spanish plantation in Western Australia, called New Norcia, "where," said this account, "the Spaniards have a remarkable monastic colony, governed by the only mitred Abbot in Australia, Dr. Salvado, one of the original Spanish missionaries who went out more than half a century ago. That the Spanish monastic has the talent of civilizing the native population is evident from the account of New Norcia. New Norcia is the only permanently successful effort to evangelize and civilize the Australian blacks. Even the post and telegraph office is in charge of a black girl. Last, but not least, New Norcia possesses the only organized team of black cricketers in Australia. How different from Matabeleland!"

What we have said may suffice as a specimen of the witness borne to the abilities and merit of the Latin Catholic nations, in the conversion of barbarians. We pass on now to a couple of other forms of missionary countries; and both of them are represented near home. One is Canada; the other is Maryland.

IV.

By Canada we mean to signify at present, not the abode of the savages, whom the French Canadians converted and civilized; but the home of the French themselves. It was originally attached to its Catholic mother-country, and received thence the form of ecclesiastical polity; being further endowed and supported by the lavish benevolence of the eldest daughter of the Church. Times changed; and the colony passed under the dominion of a Protestant power, which at that time was the more narrow-minded and bigoted, as all religion and faith were fading away in England into practical indifference for everything. Such a colony, at such a juncture, offers a specimen of the missionary countries, such as Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines are becoming at present.

As soon as it was appropriated by the British government, Canada was treated as a close preserve. Two currents of thought and policy were scrupulously diverted from the frontiers of the country. One was that of the revolutionary tendencies, which prevailed in the colonies adjoining, then on the point of separating from Great Britain. The other was that of the revolutionary French, whose agitation, atheistic as well as political, was kept out of Canada with a jealousy which no quarantine excelled. Meanwhile the Canadian population shut itself up in religious and national exclusiveness, quarantining the religion and ideas of its new governors. And all the long-suffering hopes of the rulers, that one day the light of a purer Gospel might penetrate into the darkness of Canadian Catholicism, continued to flicker with but intermittent brightness, cheer-

ing up successive incumbents of the gubernatorial chair. And, no doubt, these hopes served some turn, as long as there was need or plausibility for entertaining them. But the Canadian faith was impracticable; and the plausibility of extracting its root, or of engrafting a new cult, and civilizing the French *habitant* with English uprightness, virtue and immaculate sanctimoniousness, died away in blank despair, at the incorrigible stubbornness of this "inferior race," as one of the governors graciously styled them. So they persisted innocuously in their immunity from Revolution, in their immunity from atheism, in the perfect franchise of their own religion, and in the uninterrupted enjoyment of their Christian civilization.

This hapless result of British zeal was not owing to any want of British aspirations or efforts. Nothing was wanting on the English side, either in the colonies adjoining, or in the island beyond the seas. Both were ready to make an Ireland of Canada. It was only Canada itself that was wanting. It had no ambition to be made an Ireland; and it was too strong to be made an Acadia. What could be done with such a stiff-necked, self-sufficient people, who all the while were doing harm to nobody? Meanwhile, during forty years, it was as much as the English governors felt they could do, to keep a footing at all in Canada, on behalf of Great Britain. To be asked for more, and to make such a country English and Protestant, was what no reasonable governor could understand. So, by a refinement of justice to themselves, if not to the Canadians, the governors at all times, amid a fair embroidery of other aspirations and other hopes, ever wove in a strain of justification for this French people, that is, for themselves. And we may observe the momentous consequence, that the series of British governors in French Canada were the first examples of that liberal class of rulers who, after the sharp lesson conveyed in the American revolution, developed the admirable political wisdom which distinguishes the proconsuls of the British colonial empire. They began to go then, as they have gone since, on the new principle: Let well enough alone; or, *Quieta non movere.*

The efforts made from this side of the Canadian frontier were in several lines, and they were the occasion of several strange acknowledgments. On August 10, 1763, the Dr. Samuel Johnson, whom we have quoted, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the theme of procuring a Protestant Bishop for Quebec; and, he added, if the said Bishop "had some good missionaries with him from the government, he might do much good in converting Papists and Indians." The Rev. Henry Caner, of Boston, assured his Grace, in January of the same year, that both dissenters and Anglicans

were on tip-toe of expectation with regard to the spoils of the papists on the St. Lawrence; that "as a great part of the conquests made in America will probably be ceded to the British Crown, so remarkable a crisis, it is natural to imagine, will fall under such regulations, as will either greatly establish the Church of England, or the dissenting interest in this part of the world." The Acadian plan of wholesale expulsion was running in their heads at that time. But, this being discredited by the action of General Amherst, there remained only the Irish plan of the Cromwellian and Orange settlers.

The choicest analysis of the Canadian missionary problem is supplied us by the Rev. Dr. Wm. Smith, President of the Philadelphia College, who happened to be in London, and who wrote to his Grace of Canterbury, March 29th, 1762. In a persuasive exordium on the great increase of wealth and grandeur to the English nation, obtained in the accession of "these distant settlements and acquisitions," he begs to take with his Grace a view more important still, and consider them as an "immense addition to the Kingdom of Christ, and to the Protestant faith and interest on earth." Then he continues in this strain:

"A great and growing people unenlightened by the Gospel, sunk in ignorance, strangers to the arts of humanity and to the just use of rational liberty, would not only be a very unsafe and unprofitable appendage of the British government, but even unworthy of having derived their origin from so high a stock." On this note he plays for some time, how the Canada of the future, that is of the present nineteenth century, will not merit to be descended from the high stock of Great Britain, if not raised by her, if not elevated by England, which is the chosen instrument in the hand of Providence "to call the remotest regions of the new world, in their turn, to the enjoyment of everything than can exalt human nature, while so many parts of the old are falling away into their original barbarity." Then the luminous gentleman resumes his description of the new acquisition: "In this great American harvest, there is an ample field opened for those that love to do good, and lay foundations for posterity; and what should be more animating is the amazing pains which the emissaries of a false religion have taken, and the multitude of establishments, which we find they have made, under the public sanction, in all the countries that we have recovered (!) from them; while the labors of the Venerable Society over which your Grace presides, and a few seminaries of learning, chiefly of a private establishment, is the most that we can boast of in this way." From which strange rhetoric and stranger logic it appears, that the benighted people on the St. Lawrence, "unenlightened by the Gospel, sunk in ignorance, strangers to the arts of humanity," and so forth,

were possessed of an organization of enlightenment and a network of establishments for all the arts of humanity, which the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the ardent missionaries, both Anglican and Puritan, and all the civilized English colonies, had nothing to compare with, from the Penobscot down to Savannah!

In twenty-seven years after this date, things had lapsed so sadly, that the Secretary of the Gospel Society wrote to the Secretary of State, confessing he could not procure "one or more clergymen to go to Canada." He said: "Those that are improper it would be disgraceful to send; and those that are proper are most difficult to find." And he proved it: "We have now a vacancy in the Bahamas where the emoluments are greater than from Canada, and cannot get a proper clergyman to go." So far Dr. Wm. Morice, in October, 1799.

From that time onwards, the Catholics solidly tenacious of their faith, and united among themselves, have moved onwards with little to break the even tenor of their history, until protected and guaranteed in faith, language and institutions, they have reached all that they could desire and deserve for their noble consistency; and only one reef is visible, which could cause shipwreck to their national happiness. That reef is domestic treachery. It is not quite certain whether, at the moment when they have come to describe the highest curve of their national comfort in seeing one of their own number Premier of the Dominion, they are not already declining to their fall. If so, the downward turn will be given to them, as the fatal thrust was given to Acadia—by domestic treachery. For, in contemporaneous documents amid the records of government, there are sufficient indications, that it was not the brutal Governor Lawrence who really held the key of the situation, when he shipped the unhappy people off, the wreck and ruin of their once happy paradise of Acadie. It seems to have been domestic traitors, who had the key and used it for him. And, if anything in a certain paragraph, which is reported in the press at this moment, is true about French Canada, it will not be out of keeping with divers phenomena of these last few years; and it certainly will be one sign more that the turning point has been reached in the most happy history of national Catholicity, which modern ages have witnessed. We allude to action taken against Catholic Churches and religious institutions, by a certain high municipal official, who is named, and is described as a "French Canadian Catholic and Liberal Member of the Dominion Parliament;" and who, in answer to the protest of Archbishop Bruchesi, replies that "the sooner his Grace desists from his opposition, the better it will be."

V.

We come to a fifth type of missionary country, one which, being more of the style of our own home, should merit a fuller treatment. But we must be brief. The condition of America, as it unfolded on missionary lines during 150 years, was a slow and harassing commencement, very different from the ample development, which we witness in our generation. The main features were in general the same as those on the other side of the ocean, in England.

The history was simply this, that where the original stock of Catholics had been too large to die out in a century and a half, it was still alive at the period of the American revolution; that, where it had been smaller, it seems to have died out completely; and, if it was still visible anywhere beyond the confines of the large Catholic colony of Maryland, that was owing, not to the survival of an old plant, but to the growth of a new seed. Thus was it in Pennsylvania.

Catholics landing in this country, where there were no priests available to assist them, mingled with the population, as sweet waters with the salt sea. We dare say they helped to sweeten the sea, before the great revolution occurred. Their names and their origin were not then so far lost, but they might be traced in the volumes of rolling humanity, as we see them still in the volumes of written records, blending but still distinct, then blending farther and lost. Where missionaries were at all available, and Catholics landed feeble in numbers, there is no saying how long the faith might have survived in any measurable proportions, or how soon it would have mingled with the bitter salt around, had not two circumstances come to alter the course of the future. One was the swelling of the slender stream with the accessions of new arrivals. The other was the revolution which broke over the country, and, though freighted with the bitterest anti-Catholic bigotry, cleared away finally in the fresh balmy air of general toleration.

It may be thought that such a description of our ancient Catholicism is not quite complimentary to our predecessors. To this we reply, that it is not complimentary to those who should have been our predecessors, and have not been such. Again, complimentary or not, the truth of it, we think, cannot be gainsaid. Finally, far from being derogatory to those who were our predecessors, it is a high tribute to them that they kept the faith in any appreciable quantity.

We take it that the truth of such a description is patent. It describes the Catholicity of both Maryland and England. It is the description of every country, which was once Catholic and then became Protestant. The ten thousand who bent not their knees before Baal, while a bitter persecution was raging, did bend their knees in

the second and the third generation, when a petty, teasing, harassing persecution took the place of the hue and cry, of the hounding and the gibbeting, that had gone on before. The Cross will ever make heroes, when a sneer and a gibe and a double taxation will make apostates. There is not one so-called Protestant nation, full-housed and numerous as it may be now, which did not become so merely by virtue of what the Italians call *domicilio coatto*—by the very same principle, which makes all the inmates of a penitentiary or house of refuge as wicked as the worst among them. By sheer necessity the conscientious Catholics had to live in their own country; and by force and fraud in some countries, by fraud alone in others, the whole organization of society was made to roll on beside and beyond them, if they would not take a seat in Protestantism and ride along with it. Their domicile in Protestantism was as much coercion, as that of the Scotch rebels taken at Preston and then domiciled in America. These took things at their best, and became Americans; and the conforming Papist took things as he found them and became Protestant. In fact, as a contemporary satirist said, the conforming Papist "is one that parts religion between his conscience and his purse, and comes to Church not to serve God but the king. . . . He would make a bad Martir and a good Traveilor; for his conscience is so large, he could never wander from it." And another, not a satirist, but one pretending to be in sober earnest, argues: "Dear Brother, Is conviction for Recusancy so slight a matter, that it is only to be laught at, or is it that you have a mind to give his Majesty two of your three thousand a year? . . . Is it reasonable to think that I am bound to part with two-thirds of my estate, because some fool, my neighbour, may think me an Heretick by my going to Church; no, let him think on; the sin is his, not mine, who do nothing but what in itself is lawful, and what becomes my duty by the Laws commanding it. . . But suppose all here said nothing to the purpose, but that 'tis likely many would be changed in time, and become Protestants; What is that to you or I, Brother, or indeed to any rational Lay Catholick in England? for he, whose case it should be, need not much repine that his conscience should lead him into a more advantageous Religion as to this World." So the great world of society became Protestant. And the spotted Catholic, spotted by exclusion, spotted by taxation, was certain sooner or later, himself or his children, to gather himself up into some place. If spotted he must be in this world, either by society for the sake of his Catholic faith, or by the leprosy of his conscience for the sake of society, better be fashionable and rich, though a social and sanctified leper, and have the franchise of the desert with no one to harm him, than be a dweller in a cave, hated of all men, than be "that fool over there," despised of all men, and

have to haunt the catacombs, though for the sake of Christ's holy Name.

Such was the development of the so-called Protestant nations. By force or by fraud, the members of the household became all of one color; and they became a free people, with not a bond to shackle them without or within. Privileged by their color and by the spots of their skin, which could no longer be changed, they enjoyed the privileges of "a more advantageous religion as to this world," and they prowled about accordingly. And one nation became vulgar and rich and powerful; and another became ferocious and military and imperial; and a third became stolid and sottish, but made money all the same; and they rule amid the powers of the lower air to-day. Such as had succeeded best in allowing no particle of the salt of the earth to purify the corruption of their mass, and had declared the penalty of death on any priest who, otherwise than by shipwreck, should set foot on their soil, made room for the quickest expansion of their native and galloping vice, and festered out of existence—leaving their lands, where the very dog of the household and the horse of the shay were thought to have become good Puritans, to the purer races of the old faith, which has emerged from the holes and the caves at last.

When therefore we say, that in this missionary country there was a constant decay in faith, we imply no slight on our predecessors during last century. On the contrary we imply that they were still extant in notable numbers, both in Maryland and Pennsylvania. The example, at least, of an heroic French colony of Catholic brethren across the borders was there to serve them, though they were willing to be found in the ranks of a hostile militia to repel incursions. Their proposal on more than one occasion to pass over under a happier Spanish domination shows that they were not far remote in thought, as they were not at all in faith, from the sentiments and sympathies of a devoted Catholic nation not far away.

Here we meant to illustrate the decay of faith, in the two separate stages; first, slow decay under slow persecution; secondly, rapid decay under slow emancipation. But the end of an article is not the place for beginning such an interesting topic. Let three quotations, then, from three different persons and epochs suffice to sketch the line of the history.

On July 14, 1710, Fr. William Killick wrote from Maryland to another Father in England: "I'm sorry I cant give you any such tydings as you hear from that (factory) of Madura and ye East, etc. It goes here much as in England; where by ye severity of times, we do little more, than keep our own. I think there is between 200 or 300, yt. frequent my store: all ye good I do is to try to make

them constant and good customers; thousands of whose failings I hope I have concurred to pvent; who otherwise without our help wu'd become renegades. This & the will of God makes me contented with my station, even without that great advance wh. is made in ye Eastern factorys."

Fr. Killick said well that things were going on in Maryland and England, after very much the same fashion. For a note, regarding this very year 1710, was found by Dr. Oliver in 1843, who, communicating it to the Jesuit Provincial, Fr. Lythgoe, expressed the opinion, that it represented also the state and need of England, in their own day. The note was part of a report sent in 1710 to the Superiors of the Society, and it ran thus: "The greatest part of our duty in England is to *save* the Catholic families. Here is the sum of our labor; &, thanks be to God, during these twenty years no one of the families, which Ours have charge of, has been lost to the faith, although the most grievous temptations have tried them, through the duty imposed on Catholics of paying double taxes." Now 133 years separated 1710 from 1843. The former date represented the slow grinding persecution. The latter date represented Catholic emancipation. Yet Dr. Oliver thought that the needs of the Church were identical at the latter date with those of the former!

The explanation of this phenomenon, both in England and America, we are precluded by our space from giving. But the statement of it we shall give, by way of conclusion, in the perspicuous language of the eminent Bishop Milner. Writing in 1820 against Charles Butler, whose Memoirs of English Catholics were only an apology for the part he had taken in Catholic decline, the Bishop speaks of the consequences of Legal Relief, and remarks, with ecclesiastical writers, that the termination of pagan persecution, under the Roman Empire, had opened the era of Christian relaxation and of heresy. Then he continues:

"This was in some measure the case with the English Catholics on the blunting of the penal laws about the beginning of his late Majesty's reign, and still more manifestly by the subsequent repeal of different parts of them. Then it was that our people, who had been so rigid in the faith, so respectful to their clergy, so pure in their morals, and so fearful of the infection of the world, while the sword of persecution hung over their heads, on this being withdrawn, became, many of them, and especially those of the higher orders, lax in their belief, neglectful of their religious duties, disdainful of the priesthood, immoral and worldly in the general tenor of their lives. Several of them, at different periods, even apostatized from their religion." Here the Bishop notes: "About this time fell from the Catholic faith the Lords Gage, Fauconberg, Teyn-

ham, Montague, Nugent, Kingsland, Dunsany, their Graces of Gordon, Norfolk, etc., the Baronets Tancred, Gascoign, Swinburn, Blake, etc., the priests Billinge, Wharton, Hawkins, Lewis, Dords, etc." He then continues: "Others who did not run this length, took such liberties with its doctrine, its discipline, and its authority, as demonstrated that either they had never learnt their religion, or that they equally disregarded its threats and its promises. Then it was that laymen took upon themselves to dictate professions of faith to their bishops, and to correct their catechisms, and even to call upon the Apostolic See to abrogate the celibacy of the clergy. Nor was this all, but, to prove what they called their liberality, they even presented Protestant churches with communion cups and dishes. The same mock liberality, in compliment to their patrons, but with far heavier guilt, was affected by some of the priesthood."

Compare with this the spirit of other times, when the Faith meant the Cross, and the Cross supported the Faith—that spirit, which the poor Acadians enshrined in hymns, their hearts breaking meanwhile with anguish during their last days on the shore of their once happy home:

Vive Jésus
Avec la Croix son cher partage
Vive Jésus.
Dans les Coeurs de tous ses Elus
La Croix de sa Cour est le gage
Futur du plus bel partage:
Vive Jésus!

THOS. HUGHES, S. J.

New York, November, 1898.

THE UNION OF ITALY.—A RETROSPECT.

1. Zuchault de La Moricière. Rapport du Général de La Moricière sur les opérations de l'Armée Pontificale contre l invasion Piémontaise dans les Marches et l'Ombrie. Paris, 1860.
2. Manfredo Fanti. Relazione della Campagna di guerra nell' Umbria e nelle Marche, Settembre, 1860. Torino, 1860.
3. Eugène Veuillot. Le Piémont dans les États de l'Église Documents et Commentaires. Paris, 1861.
4. Comte Théodore de Quatrebarbes. Souvenirs d'Ancone. Siége de 1860, par le Cte de Quatrebarbes, Gouverneur de la Ville et de la Province. Paris, 1866.
5. Pellion di Persano. Diario Privato politico-militaire dell 'Ammiraglio Conte di Persano nella Campagna navale degli anni 1860 e 1861. Firenze, 1869-71.
6. L'Abbé Charles Sylvain. Histoire de Pie IX le Grand, et de son Pontificat. Lille, 1883.
7. The O'Clery. The Making of Italy. London, 1892.

The recent disturbances in Italy, though quickly repressed at the cost of much bloodshed, by the energetic action of the military authorities, have revealed the existence of an intense and widely diffused animosity against the present Government, which the labouring classes, reduced to the utmost misery by a crushing system of taxation, naturally look upon as responsible for their sufferings. And yet when, thirty-eight years ago, not only the smaller princes of Italy, but also the two Sovereigns whose rule had been so long and so virulently denounced as the most antipathetic to their subjects and the most detrimental to the welfare of the Peninsula, were deprived of their States, the partisans of the unity of Italy sincerely believed that an era of tranquility, freedom and prosperity was about to commence and that the future of the land whence civilisation had spread over Europe would be no less glorious than its past. It may, therefore, be interesting at the present moment to look back to the time when Italy was full of hope and enthusiasm; when the flag of Savoy was raised triumphantly in one city after another, when Italian and English liberals aided and applauded the soldiers and the statesmen who were engaged in laying the foundations of the new kingdom, and to ask what were those foundations, and by what methods was raised the edifice which has so signally disappointed the expectations of its builders, and is now apparently crumbling into ruin.

The result of the war against Austria in 1859, so skilfully brought about by the diplomacy of Count Cavour, was to enlarge the kingdom of Sardinia by the addition of a considerable extent of territory; but the aspirations of the House of Savoy and of the political

party which directed its course of action, were still far from being satisfied. Lombardy, the first of these acquisitions, was obtained in virtue of the treaty of Villafranca, by which Austria renounced all claim to that province, but the annexation of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and of the Duchies of Parma and Modena was accomplished by insurrectionary movements excited and directed by emissaries placed under the orders of Signor Buoncampagni, the Piedmontese Minister at the Court of Florence.[1] As a consequence of these outbreaks the sovereigns of those States were expelled, the leaders of the insurgents formed provisional governments, and after a short interval, Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed king. The Holy See was deprived of the Legations, or the provinces of Ferrara, Bologna and Ravenna, by the sudden retreat of the Austrian garrisons, which on finding their communications with Mantua threatened by the advance into Tuscany of a body of French troops under the command of Prince Napoleon, withdrew so hastily, that, before they could be replaced by Pontifical soldiers, the revolutionary party had taken up arms, hoisted the Italian flag and declared for union with Piedmont. The remainder of the Papal States, the province of Venetia and the kingdom of Naples were still wanting to complete the kingdom of Italy; but the two first were as yet unattainable; for an attack on Rome would have entailed a war with France; a war with Austria was impossible without allies; while Napoleon III, who much preferred a federated Italy to an Italian kingdom, was not inclined to spend more men and money to further the cause of unity which had progressed more rapidly than he had expected. Cavour considered it, therefore, more prudent to begin by the invasion and annexation of the kingdom of Naples and to defer the other conquests until some more favourable opportunity should arise.

The pretext for this unprovoked aggression on a State with which the kingdom of Sardinia was at peace, was afforded by an insurrection in Sicily, and, to aid the insurgents, General Garibaldi was allowed by the connivance of the Piedmontese Government to organize a body of volunteers who, to the number 1085, started from the neighborhood of Genoa on the 6th of May, 1860. It is true that the official Gazette of Turin announced on May 17th, that the Government disapproved highly of Garibaldi's action and that a squadron of the royal navy had been ordered to pursue him and arrest him; but Admiral Persano, who was in command of the fleet, confessed very frankly in his diary which was published in 1869, that, in obedience to the secret instructions sent by Cavour, in opposi-

[1] The Making of Italy, p. 87.

tion to the opinion of the other ministers, he not only did not stop the expedition, but guided and escorted the vessels which, soon after, brought reinforcements to the volunteers. Later on when Garibaldi was besieging Palermo, the Admiral landed at midnight, with the utmost secrecy, two heavy guns from one of his ships, to assist him, while at the same time he took care to maintain an outward aspect of strict neutrality, and to avoid any open act which might compromise the Government of Victor Emmanuel.[1] But, indeed, long before the Admiral revealed the true history of the nefarious conspiracy by which Francis II was deprived of his throne, the mask had been flung aside by Victor Emmanuel himself, when in his proclamation to the Italian people at Ancona on October 9, 1860, he frankly declared that he had not tried to hinder Garibaldi's departure from Genoa, and that he would have considered it unpatriotic to do so.

In the choice of Garibaldi for the command of the expedition to Sicily, there was, however, a danger against which Cavour had to be on his guard; for the General's plan of campaign, which was considerably at variance with the ideas of the minister, was to pass from Sicily to the Neapolitan territory on the mainland; to march through it raising and arming more troops as he went; then to attack Venice, and finally to seize upon Rome, where from the summit of the Capitol, he would proclaim Victor Emmanuel King of Italy. But this mode of proceeding was far too impetuous and risky to suit the more cautious and far-seeing policy of Cavour, who while quite willing to make use of Garibaldi to prepare the way for the intervention of the royal Army and the annexation of the kingdom of Naples, always intended to check the filibuster's victorious progress in time, lest, by coming into collision with France or Austria he should cause the failure of his own plans for the unity of Italy, which he was slowly but surely carrying out by underhand intrigues and conspiracies against the Sovereigns whom he hoped to deprive of their States.

The overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty, was not, however, so easily achieved as had been expected, and yet Cavour, whose object it was to make it seem that the fall of the House of Bourbon was due to the spontaneous action of its subjects, had succeeded in undermining the throne of Francis II and rendering his position almost hopeless without having made an open declaration of war. The kingdom of Sardinia was still ostensibly at peace with the kingdom of Naples, the Sardinian minister, the Marchese di Villamarina, was still at the Neapolitan Court, and the Sardinian fleet cruised off

[1] Diario dell'Ammiraglio l. di Persano, Prima parte, pp. 28, 42, 44, 56.

the coasts of Naples and Sicily or cast anchor in their ports, like that of any other friendly power. It was, however, at the house of the Sardinian minister that the traitors who conspired against Francis II, among others his uncle the Count of Syracuse, and Liborio Romano the Minister of the Interior, held their meetings; and Persano's vessels carried arms and ammunition to be landed at various points along the coast,[1] or conveyed envoys from Cavour and Palmerston to Garibaldi;[2] and had on board, dispersed among the crews, a battalion of *bersaglieri* in readiness for disembarkation at Naples, in case the people rose.[3] But though there was a rising in the province of Basilicata, and though many of the inhabitants of Calabria joined Garibaldi when he landed on the mainland, no insurrection took place at Naples. Some officers of the Neapolitan fleet, it is true, resigned their commissions; one of them, who had fled with his ship from Naples to Palermo after Garibaldi had occupied that town, wished to hoist the Italian flag and join openly the fleet of Admiral Persano, which was then in the port.[4] The Admiral, however, was obliged to carry out the policy of Cavour, and feign neutrality; he could not therefore receive the deserter, but he advised him to offer his services to Garibaldi, who was acting independently of the Government of Turin and apparently in opposition to its will, and who would not compromise it by anything he did. Some of the Neapolitan generals, too, had been gained over to the cause of the revolution, and when Garibaldi had crossed from Sicily to the mainland, they retreated before him from one position to another, or made their troops lay down their arms without fighting. The rank and file, indeed, remained mostly loyal; for General Briganti was shot by his own soldiers, infuriated by his treachery, and the garrisons of the forts which defend Naples showed no signs of disaffection, in spite of the incendiary proclamations spread among them by the two secret societies, the "Committee of Order" and the "Committee of Action," which were endeavoring to carry out Cavour's plans for the unification of Italy by somewhat dissimilar methods of operation. And yet, it was of the utmost importance for the successful execution of these plans that Victor Emmanuel should be proclaimed king before the arrival of Garibaldi at Naples, when, owing to the influence which Mazzini was known to exercise over the General, and to the fact that the majority of the Garibaldians belonged to the advanced party, there might be some danger of the proclamation of a republic. Since, therefore, neither the army nor the people showed any inclination to rise and

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[1] Diario, parte II, pp. 17, 20.
[2] Id.,p. 101.
[3] Id., pp. 20, 34.
[4] Id., parte I, p. 68.

expel Francis II, it became necessary to induce him to abdicate of his own accord. His prime Minister, Liborio Romano, undertook to perform this act of treachery, and addressed to the king a letter in which he pointed out to him with the most obsequious expressions of loyalty, and an apparently sincere devotion to his interests, that a spirit of mistrust and hostility towards the Bourbon dynasty had pervaded the entire country; that his army and navy had become thoroughly demoralised and that he could no longer reckon upon their fidelity, that further resistance was hopeless; and he advised him, under these circumstances, to place his kingdom under a regency and to withdraw for a time until tranquility and confidence were restored. Admiral Persano inserted a copy of this perfidious document in his diary, but could not refrain from expressing his compassion for the young king, and remarking that if, after receiving such a communication, he did not dismiss his ministers, he was irretrievably lost. The Admiral, indeed, expresses very frankly in his diary, his contempt both for the Neapolitan army which would neither fight the Garibaldians, nor declare openly for Victor Emmanuel; and for the Neapolitan navy which, though it had generally decided for the cause of United Italy, would, in his opinion, have acted more honourably if it had defended its flag and its King.

After Liborio Romano, the king's uncle, the Count of Syracuse, an ardent partisan of Italian unity, tried to induce Francis II to follow the example of the Duchess of Parma and abdicate in favour of Victor Emmanuel, but without success; and shortly after, he sailed for Genoa on board a vessel which Cavour had placed at his service. Garibaldi was still advancing rapidly towards Naples; for, after he had crossed to the mainland he had met with little resistance; he was already within a short distance of Salerno, and Admiral Persano had as yet found no opportunity of intervening under pretext of maintaining order in the name of Victor Emmanuel, so that Cavour, seeing the imminent danger of the proclamation of a republic at Naples, whence the movement might spread to Piedmont and Northern Italy, resolved to oppose a barrier to Garibaldi's further progress by invading and annexing the Papal States before the General could attack them.

He wrote, therefore, to Admiral Persano on August 31st, that to carry out this project, it had been decided that an insurrection should break out in Umbria and the Marches between the 8th and the 12th of September; and, that, whether it were suppressed or not, General Cialdini would enter the Papal territory and advance rapidly to besiege Ancona; an undertaking which would require the coöperation of the fleet. Cavour also requested the Admiral

not to communicate this information to anyone, not even to his fellow-conspirator Villamarina, but to make at once the necessary preparations for the successful execution of this important enterprise.

No revolt had as yet taken place in Naples, in spite of the efforts of the two Committees, but when the garrison of Salerno evacuated that town without fighting, and the king saw that nothing could prevent Garibaldi and his volunteers, who amounted to nearly 20,000 men, from marching upon Naples, he shrank from the thought of exposing the city to the bloodshed and devastation which would be the result of a combat in the streets, and on September the 6th he sailed on board a Spanish man-of-war for Gaeta. If, during the short campaign which ensued in the neighborhood of Capua, Francis II had had to encounter only the undisciplined hordes of Garibaldi he might perhaps, with the aid of troops and generals on whom he could depend, have repelled the invasion and reconquered his kingdom, but the reinforcements of Piedmontese troops which joined the Garibaldians, followed, after the taking of Ancona, by the arrival of General Cialdini's army, forced him to abandon his positions on the Volturno and retreat to the fortress of Gaeta.

The siege of this town lasted for more than three months, though the garrison consisted of only 12,000 men, and the artillery was inferior to that of the Piedmontese, who were well provided with rifled guns; but the heroic defence was brought to an end by the explosion of the principal powder magazine, whether caused by one of the enemy's shells, or, as it has been asserted, by the act of a traitor, is not certain. The breach which this explosion made in the ramparts, the destruction of several batteries, and the loss of provisions and ammunition which were its results rendered the fortress incapable of further resistance and Francis II was obliged to capitulate.

During the course of these events, whilst the young King of Naples, betrayed by those in whom he had most confided, was becoming more and more entangled in the toils which Cavour and his accomplices were weaving round him, the Papal government was making preparations to guard against the dangers which it foresaw, but of which it did not realise the full extent, as it could not suspect the depths of mendacity and treachery to which Cavour was capable of descending. The Papal army had never been very numerous, as the Holy See was the only Continental Power which had not adopted some form of conscription, and its troops were never expected to carry on an aggressive war against neighboring States, but to maintain order within its own frontiers. The loss of

the Legations, however, the seizure and temporary occupation of Perugia in June, 1859, by an armed band from Tuscany; and the openly avowed intention of the revolutionary party to complete the unity of Italy by the conquest of Rome, showed the necessity of raising a larger and better organized body of troops for the defence of what remained of the States of the Church, and, at the suggestion of Mgr. de Mérode, who presided over the War Office, Pius IX requested General de la Moricière, one of the most illustrious of the officers to whom was due the conquest of Algeria to create the new army and to take the command. The General had but recently returned to France from the exile to which he had been condemned after the "coup de'état," and was living in retirement in the country; he saw clearly the difficulties of every nature which surrounded the duties which he was asked to perform, but he accepted nevertheless the invitation of the Holy Father, and arrived in Rome in the beginning of April, 1860.

Recruits soon began to pour in from all parts of Europe. An Irish contingent of about 1200 men formed the battalion of St. Patrick, commanded by Major Miles O'Reilly. Four battalions and a half of riflemen were composed of Austrian and Bavarian soldiers, who entered the Papal army with the consent of their governments, and the French and Belgians were united in a battalion known as "les Tirailleurs Pontificaux," or "les Franco-Belges," under Major de Becdelievre, an experienced officer who had served in Algiers and the Crimea. It was he who gave this *corps* their Zouave uniform, and when, in the beginning of 1861, the battalion was formed into a regiment, it received the name of the Pontifical Zouaves. Most of the French serving in this battalion were young men of noble family, and it was also French nobles who composed the "*corps des Guides*," a squadron of cavalry, the members of which received no pay, but served at their own expense, held the rank of sub-lieutenant, and acted as aides-de-camp and staff officers to the General. Another company of French nobles, also unpaid, was named "*les Croises*," and was commanded by M. Henri de Cathelineau, the grandson of one of the most distinguished leaders in the war of La Vendée: but shortly before the opening of the campaign, it was incorporated with the Franco-Belges. These foreign troops, together with the two Swiss regiments already in the Papal service; two Italian regiments of the line; two battalions of *cacciatori*, also Italians; two squadrons of dragoons, and one of light horse; a few batteries of artillery, and the *gendarmes* composed an army of about 15,000 men, 8,000 of whom, at least, were Papal subjects. Besides the regular army, a large number of civilians had been enrolled and organized as auxiliaries in the provinces of Urbino, Macerata and

Farmo, furnishing twenty-one companies of more than one hundred men each, and over six hundred mountaineers of Ascoli in the Papal Abruzzi had also taken arms in defence of the Holy See and had asked for officers to drill and lead them.[1] There was not, unfortunately, sufficient time before the outbreak of hostilities to arm all these troops effectively; only two battalions and a little more than a half of light infantry were provided with rifles, the others had only the old fashioned musket, and the artillery was not only imperfectly drilled, but had not enough of horses.

Nevertheless, with this small and badly equipped body of soldiers whom Generals Fanto and Cialdini in their insulting proclamations denounced as drunken mercenaries and miserable assassins, brought into Italy by the thirst for gold and the love of pillage, General de La Moricière hoped, not indeed, to reconquer the provinces already annexed to Piedmont, but to defend those still remaining to the Papal See against the incursions of Garibaldian bands. The Papal Government did not think it possible that an unprovoked attack on the part of Victor Emmanuel could take place, and it felt certain that if it were menaced by any serious danger, the protection of France might be reckoned on. There were still French troops in Rome, and so shortly before the invasion as the 31st of August, M. de Persigny declared in a speech at St. Etienne that the sword of the Eldest Son of the Church still guarded the august person of the Sovereign Pontiff and the throne of the Holy See. Cavour, too, played the same comedy of apparent neutrality with which he masked his intrigues at Naples; for he disavowed and imprisoned a Garibaldian named Lunbianchi, who with 300 men had invaded the Papal States near Aquapendente on May 18th, but was defeated and driven back across the frontier by General de Pimodan and a handful of gendarmes. A few months later, Cavour also stopped another expedition which Nicotera, a Garibaldian officer, had organized in Tuscany for the invasion of Umbria and the Marches, and its leader was arrested and disarmed. Some uneasiness, it is true, was caused by the concentration of Piedmontese troops in large numbers along the frontiers, and it was known that behind them armed bands were being assembled, but when de La Moricière, in the beginning of September requested Cardinal Antonelli to ascertain from the Piedmontese Government, through the medium of the French Ambassador, what were its intentions, he was assured that Piedmont would continue, as in the past, to prevent bands of volunteers from invading the Papal territory, and that the royal army would not attack it.

And yet, at that date, the conquest of the States of the Church

[1] Le Piemont dans les États de l'Église, p. 97.

had been already decided on, at an interview which took place at Chambéry, on August 29th, between Napoleon III, who was on his way to Algiers, General Cialdini, and Farini the Piedmontese Minister of the Interior.[1] According to a circular addressed by M. de Thouvenet on October 18th, 1860, to the diplomatic representatives of France, these envoys pointed out to the Emperor the dangers which would result for Italy, if Garibaldi, who was then marching through the kingdom of Naples almost without opposition, were to carry out his intention of invading the Papal States, and then attacking Venice. They, therefore, suggested that, as soon as any disturbances arose in the Marches or Umbria, the Piedmontese army should occupy those provinces, for the purpose of restoring order, but without interfering with the sovereignty of the Pope; and that a European Congress should be immediately assembled to discuss the future of Italy. The Emperor is then said to have given his consent to this project by the fatal words, "*Faites, mais faites vite,*" and whether the report be well founded or not, it was accepted as a fact all over Italy. Two days later was written the letter, already mentioned, from Cavour to Persano, and on September 1st, a fellow conspirator, Giuseppe La Farina, wrote to a friend at Pelarmo: "On the 8th, the Committees of the National Society in the Marches and Umbria will begin an insurrection. The national troops will intervene, 50,000 men are already concentrated at La Cattolica, and 30,000 on the Tuscan frontier."

The invasion took place at the appointed date. Some hundreds of volunteers from Tuscany, led by Colonel Masi, attacked Urbino and Fossombrone on the 8th of September; while another band seized Città della Pieve, though in each case the small detachments of gendarmes and auxiliaries which garrisoned these towns made a determined resistance until forced to yield to superior numbers. It was on the 10th that the Piedmontese Government set aside at last the neutrality which until then it had pretended to observe. On that day General de La Moricière was visited at his headquarters at Spoleto by the aide-de-camp of General Fanti, who, by order of the king, informed him that the Italian army would cross the frontier in any one of the three following cases: if the Papal troops repressed by force a national demonstration; or, if they marched against a town in which a demonstration had taken place; or finally, if after having repressed a demonstration, the troops were not immediately withdrawn so as to leave the inhabitants of the town at liberty to express their will. De la Moricière very naturally replied with indignation to the officer who was the bearer of this insolent

[1] Histoire de Pie IX., vol. II, p. 164.

message, that it amounted to a request to evacuate without fighting the provinces which it was his duty to defend; that it would have been more frank to have declared war openly; and, that, in spite of the numerical superiority of the Piedmontese army, his officers and soldiers would not reckon the numbers of their enemies, nor spare their own lives in the defence of the outraged honour of the State which they served.

General Cialdini crossed the frontier near Mimini on the following day, but it was only on the evening of the 10th that Cardinal Antonelli received from Count Minervini the ultimatum of the Piedmontese Government in which it requested the Pope to dismiss his foreign soldiers, and declared that the Royal troops would not allow the Papal mercenaries to prevent the people of Umbria and the Marches from manifesting their opinions. As Count Minervini did not receive the answer to the ultimatum till the 12th, and as the Piedmontese Government was not informed that it was rejected, until the 13th, it follows that the invasion took place without any declaration of war, and before the Papal Government could make preparations for a campaign against a regular army. General de La Moricière had expected to encounter only Garibaldian bands; he had, therefore, employed a portion of his troops to guard the principal towns against a sudden attack, and instead of concentrating the remainder, he had stationed them along those portions of the frontiers where incursions of volunteers were most to be apprehended; fixing their headquarters at Terni, Foligno and Macerata, with a reserve under his own command at Spoleto. These mobilised troops amounted to about 8,000 infantry, 300 artillerymen, three squadrons of cavalry and some gendarmes.

Of the three divisions with which General Cialdini entered the Papal States, two advanced on Sucona by Fano and Sinigaglia, while the third marched by Urbino to Gubbro, where it could command the passes over the Apennines, and another column, under General Fanti the Minister of War, came from Tuscany down the valley of the Tiber, to seize Perugia and Spoleto. The number of the invaders amounted to about 40,000.

The first encounter took place at Pesaro; the small fortress there was held by Colonel Zappi and 800 men, nearly all Italians; he had only three pieces of artillery, but he made such a gallant defence against Cialdini's two divisions, that he stopped their advance for 22 hours, and capitulated only when the fort had been nearly demolished. Cialdini, who on more than one occasion showed his contempt for the laws and usages observed in warfare by all civilised nations, continued the bombardment for three hours after the white flag had been hoisted.

Previously to the invasion of the royal troops, the volunteers commanded by Masi, after taking Citta della Pieve, had attacked Orvieto, where the garrison of about 100 Austrian riflemen capitulated after a short resistance, and when General Schmidt, who was marching from Foligno with two battalions to the assistance of the town, learned that it had fallen, and that General de Yormaz, with the advance guard of Fanti's army was close at hand, he retreated to Perugia, and prepared to defend it with about 1,400 men. The attack began almost immediately after his arrival, and after a combat of three hours, during which the Piedmontese succeeded in occupying some houses in the suburbs, General de Yormaz sent forward a flag of truce and demanded the surrender of the town, as General Fanti would shortly arrive with the rest of the troops, when any further resistance would be useless. An armistice was therefore agreed upon until his arrival, on condition that in the meanwhile the Piedmontese should retire from their positions in the town, and allow the gates to be held by the Papal troops. General de Yormaz accepted these terms; but the Piedmontese still continued to enter the town, in spite of his repeated promises and General Schmidt's protests. The first battalion of the second foreign regiment then began to show signs of insubordination; and, though a company of the battalion of St. Patrick and the majority of the Italian regiment of the line which formed part of the garrison, would willingly have continued to fight, General Schmidt believed that he could place no reliance on his soldiers, and capitulated on the arrival of General Fanti.

The defence of the Rocca di Spoleto, the medieval tower surrounded by a walled enclosure, which stands on a height above that town, had been entrusted to Major O'Reilly, the commander of the battalion of Saint Patrick. It was not a building capable of offering a serious resistance to modern artillery, yet its small garrison composed of 300 Irish, 23 Franco-Belges, 116 Swiss and Austrian recruits, and 150 Italians held at bay for twelve hours a Piedmontese army of about 8,000 men with 24 guns commanded by General Brignone.

At 8 o'clock on the morning of September 17th, after a first summons to capitulate had been rejected, four Piedmontese batteries opened a heavy fire against the fort, to which the Papal troops could only reply with musketry, while a crowd of sharpshooters covering the neighbouring heights poured a hail of lead into the interior of the enclosure. After a bombardment of three hours another attempt was made to persuade Major O'Reilly to make his soldiers lay down their arms; but as he had received orders to defend the position as long as possible, he refused to yield and the

fire recommenced until about three o'clock. By that time, such was the ruinous condition of the gateway and of the adjoining walls, that it seemed impossible that the fort could resist an assault, and a column of two companies of *bersaglieri* and two battalions of grenadiers rushed up the ascent leading to the entrance. As they approached, they were received with volleys of grapeshot from the single piece of artillery which was in a state to render any service, but they pressed on bravely to the gate and tried to batter it down. It was, however, well barricaded within; and the defenders, firing and thrusting their bayonets between its broken and disjointed beams, obliged the assailants to fall back with heavy losses. The bombardment began again, the buildings of the fort were twice set on fire; but the garrison, undaunted, still held out; till, at nightfall, Major O'Reilly, seeing that his ammunition was nearly all spent; that the walls of the fort were in ruins and that the enemy, drawing nearer, was preparing to give another assault which his men, exhausted with fatigue, would have been unable to repel, consented at last to capitulate. The Piedmontese are believed to have lost on this occasion 100 killed and 300 wounded, while only three of the garrison were killed and six wounded.

As soon as General de La Moricière had seen that the government of Victor Emmanuel was about to commence hostilities, he had ordered the scattered detachments of his troops to concentrate in Ancona, and leaving Spoleto on the 12th, he made a rapid march across the Apennines, arriving on the 16th at Loreto, whence he drove the outposts of Cialdini's army which had already occupied the town. He was joined on the following evening by General de Pimodan and the battalions which had been quartered round Ferni, which raised the army under his command to 4,600 infantry, four squadrons of cavalry and sixteen guns. Its further progress was stopped by General Cialdini who had brought his soldiers by forced marches from Sinigaglia, and had taken up a strong position on the hills of Osimo and Castelfidardo which form a semi-circle in front of the height on which stands the town of Loreto. The main road which leads from Loreto to Ancona, on descending from the town into the plain beneath watered by the Musone, crosses that river and a stream which runs parallel to it; and, on reaching the opposite hills, divides into two branches. That to the left ascends towards Osimo, a village built on a steep acclivity, while the other goes over the foot of the hill on which stands Castelfidardo, and some miles further on passes through Camerano, another village occupying an equally strong situation. These positions were held by large bodies of troops, and La Moricière, seeing that his small army could not hope to cut its way through forces so superior in number and so

advantageously posted, decided on following another road only partly paved, which starts from Porto Recanati close to Loreto, crosses the Musone by a ford near its mouth, and passes through a mountainous district lying along the sea coast. But this road, though not held by the enemy, lay within range of his rifled guns, and it was therefore necessary that a part of the army should take the heights of Castelfidardo which commanded it, and hold them as long as possible.

On the morning of the 18th the Piedmontese troops round Castelfidardo had been strongly reinforced; a detachment of *bersaglieri* held a farmhouse situated half-way up the side of a hill occupying an advanced position in front of the principal chain of heights; two battalions were posted in another farmhouse on the summit about 500 yards to the rear; an adjacent wood was filled with soldiers, and several batteries of artillery were placed so as to sweep the approaches to the position. General de Pimodan, who was to lead the attack, had under his orders two battalions of Italian *cacciatori*, a battalion of Austrian riflemen and one of Swiss, the Franco-Belgian battalion or Pontifical Zouaves of 300 men; 100 men of the battalion of St. Patrick, commanded by Lieut. James Darcy; twelve guns and 250 light horse and dragoons. His intention was to take the lower farmhouse, and then, bringing up his guns, to shell the buildings situated higher up, as well as the neighbouring wood before advancing upon them. General de La Moricière held the other four battalions in reserve, while the rest of the artillery and the baggage wagons took the road leading to the ford near the mouth of the Musone.

The column under General de Pimodan crossed the Musone higher up and drove back the Piedmontese pickets concealed among the bushes on the opposite shore; but, while it advanced to the attack, the second battalion of Italian *cacciatori*, which had not yet crossed the river, fired upon it, whether from treachery, as Major de Becdelievre supposed,[1] or from panic and want of discipline as La Moricière more charitably suggested in his report on the campaign. The first farmhouse, though stubbornly defended by the *bersaglieri* was soon taken, and under a heavy fire maintained by Piedmontese while retreating, two guns were dragged up to it and placed in position by the Irish soldiers. General de Pimodan, who was already wounded, then gave orders to attack the higher position, but fresh reinforcements had been brought up to the troops which held it, and before de Pimodan's soldiers could reach the summit of the hill, large masses of the enemy advanced from

[1] Souvenirs de l'Armee Pontificale, p. 74.

the wood, and beneath the rain of bullets which they poured down, the column fell back. It turned, however, on its pursuers as they drew near, and by a desperate bayonet charge drove them again up the height, but was unable to maintain its position in presence of superior numbers. It was in vain that La Moricière ordered the troops which had remained in the plain to march to support de Pimodan, round whose position at the farmhouse, where the haystacks in flames rendered the defence more difficult, the Piedmontese were gradually closing in, though repulsed again and again at the point of the bayonet. The first Swiss regiment, when deployed into line under the fire of the enemy's guns, broke its ranks and fled, its officers alone remaining; the second battalion of Italian *cacciatori*, which had already begun to ascend the hill, followed their example; as did a part of the dragoons, while some of the artillery drivers sharing in the panic, cut the traces and galloped off, abandoning their guns. To complete the disaster, General de Pimodan fell mortally wounded; he had been struck four times, and there is a strong suspicion that the fatal shot was fired by a traitor in the ranks of his own troops. There was no longer any hope that the Papal soldiers could storm the heights held by the Piedmontese and the order to retreat was given; but, in the midst of this confusion and want of discipline, the second battalion of riflemen, composed of Austrians and led by Major Fuchsman, marched up the hill, occupied the position assigned to them, and by their bravery and steadiness protected what remained of the army as it fell back upon Loreto. The combat was not, indeed, ended by the retreat of the broken and disorganised regiments, for it was still maintained round the lower farmhouse where some of the wounded had been carried during the battle, and about twenty of the Franco-Belgian battalion had been posted to guard them. This handful of men, though forgotten and left behind when the rest of the troops had retreated, held their position for more than an hour. They barricaded the windows with sacks of corn and by their rapid and well directed fire repelled assault after assault, till the building was set in flames by Piedmontese shells and any further resistance was rendered impossible.

When General de La Moricière had seen that the battle was lost, he took the road leading along the coast to Ancona, followed by a small body of cavalry, and a few hundred of the Swiss whom he had succeeded in rallying. They had not, however, gone very far, when the Swiss were attacked by a patrol of *bersaglieri*, and after a short skirmish more than half laid down their arms. De La Moricière and his mounted escort then left the road and took the rugged mountain paths leading through the woods which cover the sides of Monte

Conero. They thus avoided the village of Camerano where there was a strong body of the enemy, and arrived in Ancona that evening.

The officers of the troops which had taken refuge in Loreto held a council of war to decide on their future line of action; the French, Austrian and Irish battalions were still willing to continue the campaign, but their diminished numbers, and the indiscipline and discouragement of the other soldiers left their superiors no other alternative than to capitulate; and, at dusk on the evening of the 19th, all that remained of La Moricière's army marched out of Loreto and laid down its arms at Becanoti.

Ancona was now the only important town outside the Patrimony of Saint Peter still remaining in the possession of the Papal Government and La Moricière hoped that a prolonged defense would give the Catholic powers time to intervene for the protection of the States of the Church. Since the General had taken the command of the Papal army much had been done to strengthen the citadel and the fortifications of the town, but they were not yet in a condition to withstand for long an army and a fleet provided with modern artillery. The garrison consisted of detachments of Italian, Swiss and Austrian regiments; four companies of the battalion of Saint Patrick under the command of Major Fitzgerald, an officer who had served in the Austrian army; 700 artillerymen; some gendarmes, light cavalry and engineers; in all less than 6,000 men; a mere handful, since 20,000 would have been requisite to guard the entire extent of the fortifications. For the defence of the ramparts on the side of the land, only 124 guns were available, while the works were constructed for 144; and only 25 could be mounted in the batteries which commanded the port, the entrance to which had been closed with a heavy chain. None of these guns were rifled, and they were mostly of small calibre, only 18 being 36 pounders. Provisions, too, were wanting, but at the last moment, just before the declaration of the blockade, an abundant supply of flour was brought from Trieste, and the enemy's patrols did not hinder the peasantry of the neighborhood from sending in droves of cattle.

Admiral Persano's fleet was much more formidably armed than the Papal fortress, for it consisted of four 60-gun frigates, and seven smaller vessels, which carried over 400 rifled guns throwing projectiles of from 20 to 65 kilogrammes with a range of 3,000 metres. The Admiral made his first attack on the day of the battle of Castelfidardo, in order to prevent the garrison from coming to the help of General de La Moricière, and although but little injury had been done to the fortifications, several houses had been damaged, and a woman and two children killed. The fleet con-

tinued the bombardment at intervals, both by day and by night, but no official intimation of the existence of a blockade was given until the 22d; the non-combatants were not allowed time to leave the town; and, as soon as the armies of Fanti and Cialdini had met, and had taken up their positions, the bombardment began also from the side of the land.

Four small redoubts had been constructed on the heights which command the approaches to Ancona; that on Monte Scrima to the west of the town, was considered to be too distant from the walls to be successfully defended, and it was evacuated; but the heavy guns of the citadel soon destroyed the battery which the Piedmontese raised there, and, though they rebuilt it during the night, it was again demolished on the following day. The redoubts on Monte Pelago and Monte Pulito, two hills to the south of Ancona, were defended by 300 men each, but their situation near the coast exposed them to the fire of the fleet, and on the morning of the 26th, after undergoing a cannonade of some hours, they were taken by a strong column of Piedmontese infantry, though the garrison of Monte Pulito succeeded in carrying off its guns.

Emboldened by this success, the Piedmontese then attacked the lunetta of San Stefano, a much stronger work nearer to the walls of Ancona and flanked by the guns of the citadel; but only to be repulsed with considerable loss, for the assailants were allowed to come as far as the ditch, when a heavy fire was opened on them from all sides, and they were driven back in disorder, vainly striving to rally and reform their ranks under the shelter of the farm buildings and gardens in the neighborhood. They failed also in their attack on Porta Pia, a gate situated at the end of a long suburb which it was rather difficult to defend, yet they were driven out of a battery which they had raised against it during the night of the 27th, and though they seized the Lazzaretto built on a small island in the harbour, they were forced to abandon it also with considerable loss.

The garrison had thus, up to the 28th, repelled with success the efforts of the Piedmontese to enter the town, and the outlying positions which had been taken did not render the fortress untenable; but, by that date, the heavy siege guns had been carried round by sea from Sinigaglia to the right wing of the invading army, and batteries armed with rifled cannon were being hastily constructed, to which the old fashioned and less weighty artillery on the ramparts of Ancona could oppose no resistance.

It was to the fleet, however, that the town was destined to yield. An attempt to break the chain which closed the entrance of the harbour was made by a flotilla of boats before dawn on the morning of the 25th, but it was discovered in time and repulsed by vol-

leys of grapeshot from the gunboats in the port. A second expedition, led by Admiral Persano, took place on the morning of the 27th, but met with no better success, in spite of the daring efforts of his sailors to break the links holding the chain to its moorings in the rocks and to the beams on which it floated. The Admiral then resolved, against the opinion of the majority of his captains, to make a more decisive attack; for he feared lest any further delay to take the town, or another repulse, might induce the Austrian government to intervene in defence of the Holy See, and at noon, on the 28th, with two frigates and two corvettes, he began the heaviest bombardment which the fortress had as yet sustained.

It lasted for about three hours and a half, during which time, the Carlo Alberto, one of the frigates, fired, as Admiral Persano states, more than 1,600 shots. Under this hail of projectiles from rifled cannon of large calibre, the masonry of the batteries on the mole which defended the port soon crumbled away. A casemated battery of nine guns, only three of which could be brought to bear on the fleet, still held out, though its defenders were reduced to a handful of men, nearly all wounded. Then the frigate Victor Emmanuel, advancing to about fifty yards from the battery, poured a broadside upon it. One of the guns was dismounted; Lieutenant Wesminthal, who was in command, fell under a volley of grapeshot as he was pointing one of the two remaining pieces, and, a few minutes later, the roar of the explosion, the shattered fragments of stonework, and the rolling volumes of dark smoke which shot up into the air, and enveloped the lighthouse and the mole, proclaimed that the powder magazine had been fired. The chain at the mouth of the port sank into the waves, as the walls fell to which it was attached, and the town of Ancona, with its land defences still almost intact, remained without guns or ramparts on the side of the sea, and open to the enemy.

General de La Moricière immediately hoisted the white flag, the cannonade ceased, and an officer was sent to Admiral Persano to discuss the conditions of a capitulation, for it was the fleet and not the army that had obliged the town to surrender. Suddenly, and without any provocation on the part of the besieged, General Fanti ordered his newly constructed batteries to open fire again about 9 o'clock that evening; assigning as the pretext in his official report, that the officer charged to negotiate, whom Admiral Persano had sent on to him, was not provided with the proper credentials. Admiral Persano, to his credit be it said, protested against this unjustifiable act, and sent one of his officers to request that the fire might cease, for he considered that his honour was compromised by its continuance. But his protests were in vain; he could only

recall a detachment of sailors whom he had landed with two guns to take part in the attack, and the fire of the Piedmontese batteries against a town over which floated the white flag, and which did not reply by a single shot, ceased only at nine o'clock on the following morning, a few hours before the capitulation was signed.

It was by this policy of fraud and brutality that the rulers of the different Italian States were dethroned, and their territories annexed to the kingdom of Sardinia; but the aims of the revolutionary party were not fully attained until ten years later, when, shortly after the departure of the French troops which guarded the provinces still remaining of the States of the Church, an army of 60,000 Italians invaded the Patrimony of St. Peter, and by the taking of Rome, overthrew the Temporal Sovereignity of the Holy Father. And now, after twenty-eight years of a government which calls itself constitutional, the accusation which was so frequently directed against the Papal Government, namely, that it was upheld by bayonets, might be made with far more justice against the Kingdom of Italy; for it is obliged to have recourse to arms, not to defend itself against the invasion of armed bands levied and organized by adventurers in a neighboring state, but to repress the uprising of its own subjects driven into rebellion by the burden of excessive taxation. It seems as though it were probable that the States so violently and iniquitously joined together might before long be again dissevered, and either regain their ancient independence or form an Italian Confederation. Such, indeed, was the solution of the Italian question which Pius IX suggested, shortly after his accession to the Chair of St. Peter, as the most efficacious method of enabling the widely dissimilar races which inhabit Italy to draw more closely together for the defence of their common Fatherland, without sacrificing their individuality; and he had hoped that this statesmanlike measure would satisfy the aspirations of the patriots who longed to see a united Italy, while respecting the rights of the reigning sovereigns, and preserving intact the local institutions and usages of the various provinces of the peninsula. The proposal of the Holy Father excited much enthusiasm throughout Italy; the King of Naples and the Grand Duke of Tuscany declared themselves favourably disposed towards it, and sent representatives to Rome to discuss the details of the league; but the realisation of this great and beneficent project, which would have tended to the pacification and the prosperity of Italy, was frustrated by the opposition of the Piedmontese ministers, for they foresaw clearly that the union of the Italian princes in a powerful and well organized confederacy would oppose an insurmountable barrier to the fulfilment of the ambitious and unscrupulous designs of the House of Savoy.

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RACE-PATRIOTISM FROM A CATHOLIC STANDPOINT.

ONE of the indirect results of the Spanish-American war, last year, was to call forth, on both sides of the Atlantic, a sudden display of enthusiasm for an alliance between England and America. It was even thought by many that the alliance was an accomplished fact, and that its influence would soon become predominant in the political world. As was to be expected, however, the feeling of enthusiasm was not long at its fever-point. When the first excitement was over, there came a period of reflection, with the result that the practical difficulties standing in the way of an alliance have been made clearer than they were before. At the same time there can be no doubt that the signs of mutual friendship exhibited by the two great English-speaking peoples were not the result of a mere passing sentiment. They sprang from a deeply rooted sense of kinship and community of aspirations, which has been revealed more than once during the present century, and which occasional jealousies have not been able to destroy. The memorable words uttered by a responsible statesman on the 2d of February, last year, are a recognition of the existence of this feeling. "There is no doubt," said Mr. Olney, speaking at Harvard University, "with what nations we should coöperate. England, our most formidable rival, is our most natural friend. There is such a thing as patriotism for race as well as for country. Though sometimes we may have such quarrels as only relations and intimate neighbors indulge in, yet it may be said that the near future will see in our closer friendship a power for good that will be felt by all mankind."

To some it may appear rather a contradiction in terms to speak of "race-patriotism," in the way that Mr. Olney did. Fatherland and race are in very many countries as widely separated as the poles. England herself, and more notably still, America, are living examples of variety in race as well as homogeneity in patriotism. But we may point to some striking examples of the idea sought to be conveyed by the sentence, "There is such a thing as patriotism for race as well as for country." In the Jewish people, scattered as they are to-day, we find it a living fact. The Mahommedan peoples also afford illustrations of it. It would be rash to say that Mr. Olney's words are altogether fanciful.

The kind of patriotism expressed in these words is quite in ac-

cordance with the mind of the Catholic Church since, without any loss of national spirit, it promotes the coöperation of kindred races for their mutual advancement and for the benefit of the world at large. But the patriotism of Catholics will involve something more than a desire for the spread of material civilization. It will include the conviction that the greatest blessings come to mankind through the medium of the true Faith, and that the noblest ambition they can entertain for their race is that it may become the means of spreading that Faith in the world.

It might seem at first that a union between two great Protestant nations, the very two, moreover, which chiefly embody the idea of material progress, would augur but little good for the spiritual empire of Christ upon earth. Yet men had somewhat similar thoughts at the time of the barbarian inroads upon the Roman Empire, and they did not foresee that the forces threatening to crush the Church would eventually be enlisted in her service. Then, as now, there was a Higher Statesmanship which overruled the workings of diplomacy and made good use of the very triumphs of injustice. It is by our faith in this directing Providence that we are ready to hope great things for the future of the Church, in spite of the many hard facts which rise up to discourage us at present. Catholics are greatly in the minority amongst us, it is true. It is also true that we are living like the victims of a great Babylonian captivity, in the midst of a civilization based upon principles many of which are quite contrary to our own. We are in close contact with our non-Catholic fellow-countrymen; we live their life, think their thoughts, and our daily conversation does not greatly differ from theirs. The sources of our inner spiritual life, hidden as they are from the world, are often unperceived even by earnest seekers after the truth, and their effect upon ourselves is largely hindered by influences from without. And yet, notwithstanding the causes which combine to weaken our distinctive spirit, we are bold enough to cherish hopes and aspirations very different from those of our fellow-citizens, and we hold, as the most cherished of truths that the Church to which we belong has a mission in the future which no other church can fulfil. For us the Catholic Church is the first object of our loyalty, and we know that the loyalty we owe to our country is most ennobled by conforming it with that which we pay to the Church. The same is true of the love we owe to our race. That love will become more disinterested and more sacred when, in due measure, it becomes identified with our love of our religion. The two will grow together; and that largeness of charity, which is called for in a member of the Universal Church, will promote a corresponding largeness in the meaning of our patriotism.

A characteristic, then, of our larger patriotism will be a strong and increasingly effective desire that the united forces of the two nations to which we belong may be used in the interests of Catholic truth. Our belief in the great future of the Church in the English-speaking world is based largely upon the knowledge that she is endowed with a vitality possessed by no other religion. She has the gift of perpetual youth. Her ideas, her principles, and her whole organization, are living things; and where they have to contend with moribund ideas and decaying organizations, these latter must necessarily succumb. Now all the varieties of sectarian Christianity are off-shoots of an organism which, under the name of Protestantism, has been losing force since the day it came into existence. All the great revivals which have taken place within it, the Puritan, Methodist, High Church and Salvationist movements, have been but readjustments and economic arrangements of a totality of forces which have been spending themselves for three centuries and a half.

Although Protestantism as a system has been weakened by disintegration, there has not been a corresponding loss of faith among its individual members. And herein we have ground for hope. The English-speaking nations are not irreligious. In spite of the havoc made by free thought and the continual narrowing away of dogmatic belief among the Protestant sects, there still remains amongst our non-Catholic brethren a sincere desire to know the truth and to serve God in the way that He wishes. As long as this spirit survives there is good hope for the future of the Church, and, as soon as sincerely religious Protestants have discovered the hollowness of the system in which they have trusted, the only course open to them, if they still wish to preserve God's truth, will be to consider the claims of Catholicity. It is true that such an awakening to light is necessarily a matter of extremely slow progress, nor can we rely upon any clear sense of logic in the Protestant mind to see its own inconsistencies. Over and over again, for instance, have those who are looked upon as authorities in the Anglican Church been placed in a manifestly false position, as in their recent declaration upon the Divorce question; and not a few observers of events have foretold secessions on a large scale from the ranks of Anglicanism. The seceders, however, have on no occasion, except at the time of the Oxford movement, been as numerous as they ought to have been, and the average Protestant's sense of logic will require many a rude shock before he sees how little the law of contradictions is recognized in his Church. After all, the main strength of Protestantism is in those unlearned worshippers who believe in the Bible and hate the Pope, while they have little concern about the questions which their pastors may choose to discuss among

themselves. Dogma is a luxury of the learned, and, as long as the wealthy middle classes go to church and subscribe handsomely to mission funds and bible societies, so long will Protestantism flourish.

The grace of God, however, is stronger than human inertia, and, though falsehood may hold sway for a long time, its ascendancy cannot last for ever. Every now and again some test case will arise, a question of ritual or final authority, in which, by all the rules of logic, the Anglican Church is called upon to define its position. But this is precisely what the authorities of the Anglican Church are anxious to avoid, for they can never do so without danger of a schism. Hence, when zealous but uninstructed laymen call for a clear pronouncement on some vexed situation, the responsible authorities temporise; there is a letting off of energy in the newspapers; a few innovating clergymen are mobbed, and a few church windows broken: the zealous laymen are satisfied that they have done something, and things seem to go on much as before. But it is only seeming. The Anglican Church comes forth weaker than she was before. Some of her more earnest thinkers have become Catholics; the indifferent and the scandalized have gone to swell the ranks of infidelity, while there still remains a sufficient mass of church-goers to carry on a certain nondescript unity for an indefinite number of years longer. Meanwhile Anglicanism continues to be a diminishing quantity with a strong desire for expansion and a notable impotency in effecting it.

What we have just said merely expresses the growing opinion that the great struggle for the Church of the future will be, not with heresy, but with infidelity, and that, before the struggle has reached its sharpest and most definite phase, the main forces of Protestantism will have ranged themselves along with one or other of the two camps. "There is a good deal of truth," said Dr. Jowett, "in the people who say that we are all becoming Atheists and Papists."* If this re-arrangement of forces takes place, it will imply a complete and intimate change in the religious character of the Teutonic nations, but especially in the English-speaking portion of them. How that change will be brought about, and what will be the consequent increase to the Catholic fold no one can, with safety, foretell. The consideration of our present numbers does not furnish any great ground for hope. In America, Catholics form about a sixth part of the population, and in England one-twentieth. Yet so great is our belief in the vitality of the Church, in the supernatural vigor which history has proved her to possess, that we are bold enough to hope for the day when she will make a reconquest of the once Protestant nations on either side of the Atlantic.

*Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett, v. ii, p. 165.

It would be unwise, as well as un-Catholic, to build our hopes of the reconversion of our race upon any qualities or prominent virtues which we may possess. The grace of conversion is gratuitous and, if ever the Church is benefited by an infusion of new blood into her body, it is only after she has made untold efforts to purify the elements which she has assimilated. The Church can do without any particular nation, but no nation can do without the Church. She is independent of those qualities of which nations are commonly proud. A newly converted people may cause her to exhibit new phases of life, not necessary to her perfection, and may thus, in a limited sense, set its mark upon the Church. But it is in a far more complete sense that she sets her mark upon her new-born children, whether individuals or races, for she transforms their whole being and causes them to live an entirely new life. She gives supernatural for natural, golden for brazen, and, though both are necessary, yet one is of far greater value than the other. To forget this truth is to misunderstand the spirit of the Catholic Church: to remember it is a special duty for such religious-minded men as are strongly patriotic, and cherish the noble desire to see all that is best in the character of their nation brought into the union of the true Faith. There are not wanting amongst us those whose Catholic spirit is tinged with a certain national exclusiveness, and a pride of race which looks forward to the time when Latin influences and Latin traditions in the Church shall give way to a new spirit coming from the reconverted Teutonic nations. At times, even ere now, impatience has been manifested at the arrangements of Providence, and whispers have been overheard about the advisability of electing an English-speaking Pope. No one doubts that, were England and America converted, many things would be proved consistent with orthodoxy and the truest loyalty to the Church which, hitherto, have hardly been supposed to be so. The change, we may well believe, will actually come about, and it has been foretold by men whose opinions have merited our respect. But there is a danger that our desires be not in accordance with wisdom. If our love of race and country and our praiseworthy desire for their increase in all good gifts become mixed up with any contempt or dislike of other nationalities and other races, or with any sense of triumph at the thoughts of supplanting them in the favors of heaven, it is time for us to examine the character of our patriotism and purge it of its objectionable elements.

The English-speaking race as a religious people has, for the last three or four centuries, from a Catholic point of view, had little to boast of. In all the good that it has done it has received large help from the Latin or Celtic races, and it will be largely dependent on

these sources in all the good it is likely to do for some time to come. Both in England and America the Catholic Church has expanded, not so much by inward development and by the number of conversions, as by Irish immigration. Unjust government in the remoter, and blundering government in the nearer past have indeed reduced Ireland to a state of poverty and depopulation which no right mind can but bitterly deplore. But out of the evil much good has come. Ireland has suffered political shipwreck, but she has been called to something higher than political greatness. It is her mission to leaven the English-speaking world with a new spirit, the spirit of the Catholic Church, a spirit opposed to the two capital sins of materialism and pride which threaten to convert our English-speaking civilization into a new species of barbarism. In the Church and in the Army, the two professions where little gain is to be got, but where unselfish virtue is wont to show itself, Irishmen are conspicuous by their numbers. To prove this we have only to glance at the Catholic Directory, either English or American, and to read the history of Waterloo, the Crimea, the American Civil war and the recent Spanish-American war. The virtues of either profession, courage, learning and self-devotion are possessed in an eminent degree by the Irish in the New World and in the Old, and these qualities, together with their long attested faith and devotion to the Catholic Church, eminently fit them to take an important part in that religious revival for which we so ardently hope.

The present writer is an Englishman, and he deplores with the rest of English Catholics those causes, humiliating to think of, which have prevented any real union between England and Ireland, and made their so-called union a mockery; which have caused thousands of Irish families to desert the homes that were too poor to support them. But is there not reason to rejoice, on the other hand, at the spectacle of a prolific race, prolific because of its domestic virtues, and Catholic to the core, expanding amongst us as rapidly as Israel in Egypt? But unlike Israel in Egypt the Irish will make no new exodus from the English-speaking world. In America, in the English colonies and in England itself, they will remain and set their mark upon the soil. They will, in a few generations, make a union of blood, of character and of interests with the children of their adopted country; many hatreds, let us hope, will die out, and many burning political questions be forgotten; but there is one element that will not lose its original vigor, and that is the manly, active Catholicity of the Irish people. That will always remain and will become the great redeeming influence, and the one bond of union among the multitudes it shall gather beneath its sway.

There is a Greater Ireland as well as a Greater Britain; indeed,

the former has a still wider area than the latter, for it extends as far as the English language is spoken. The extent of territory over which the Irish people have spread is a measure of the greatness of their destiny. That destiny is to act as a Catholic leaven among Protestants and Infidels. This is the worthiest object of their ambition, and, if they are faithful in their pursuit of it, the virtues and gifts of their national character will survive and impress themselves upon their English-speaking fellow citizens. It has happened, ere now, that, when two nations have amalgamated under the care of the church, their former hatreds have been forgotten, their vices have diminished, while their virtues have blended together to form a new and nobler race. In the great fusion of nationalities which is now in process in America and in the British Empire, it is upon the survival of the better qualities of every race and the disappearance of the meaner that the future of civilization depends. Now, if Irishmen are conscious of their mission among their non-Catholic fellow citizens, they will feel that the principle of *noblesse oblige* has a special application in their case. They will feel that, as Catholics, they are called upon to contribute more than they receive. If they detect in their own character any unlovely and contentious elements which weaken the influence of their more genuine and nobler qualities, they will make every sacrifice necessary to remove such obstacles. They will do nothing inconsistent with the noble ambition of leavening and converting the English-speaking world. Now, this end will be better accomplished if it is pursued in the spirit of the church, which is the spirit of union. We do not speak of political union, but of that without which political unions and alliances are useless and dangerous, the union of charity and of worthy aspirations.

The union of England and America by the ties of a permanent alliance is looked upon by many as a chimera, and not without reason. For the interests of the two nations are not identical in many important respects, and, as the world stands at present, identity of interests is the only firm bond of alliance. As long as two kindred nations find that they stand in need of mutual help, they will easily recognize the fact that "blood is thicker than water." But when there is rivalry of interests, this consideration has not been strong enough in the past even to prevent civil war. It cannot be counted on as sufficient of itself to cause an alliance. At the same time, a brotherly feeling between two nations is a thing to be fostered by every possible means, and a heavy responsibility rests with those who try to prevent it. Where there is friendship interests will contrive to run together and, as long as the friendship lasts, there can be no quarrel.

In the Middle Ages the great aim of the Church was to establish a certain political union among the Christian nations by means of their religious union under one faith. The Holy Roman Empire was an incomplete realization of this ideal. Its incompleteness was due to the fact that the semi-barbarous peoples of Europe in those days were much too warlike to be kept under control. They loved fighting for its own sake, and to thousands of them peace meant the loss of occupation. But we, who live after generations of settled political life, have not inherited such warlike tendencies. With us war is not the rule, and we look upon it as an evil to be avoided by all honorable sacrifices. If we arm, it is to maintain the peace, and no wise statesman, however preponderating may be the forces at his disposal, will enter lightly upon a war. If the nations of Europe could only trust one another, disarmament would begin to-morrow. Such being the case, the Church's chances as peace-maker of the world would be far greater now than they were in the Middle Ages, if only she had the same spiritual influence which she had then. For, whatever losses she may have sustained since the Renaissance and the Reformation, her work as peacemaker has not been undone. It has been done for her by the natural growth of civilization. It is true that the grounds of peace are terribly insecure, and no man can say how much longer the world will last without a general and calamitous war. Yet an earnest desire for peace undoubtedly exists, and this desire has been so far realised that there are multitudes among us whose lives for long years have never been altered by war or the effects of war. If then some higher motive and more stable principle than self interest shall step in upon the world to maintain the peace, there will be a greater likelihood than ever before that the dream of universal peace will be realised. The beginnings of such a state of things are visible in the growing desire for arbitration, and in our Holy Father's efforts as a mediator between nations. Cynics, no doubt, will laugh at the thought of humanity attaining such a degree of self-restraint as to give up the argument of the stronger, or to intrust its destinies to a spiritual dictator with no army to give weight to his awards. Such reasoners, however, omit from their reckonings a factor which has changed the destiny of nations in the past, and which will continue to work political miracles in the future. That factor is the ever renewing life of the Catholic church. Philosophers who write about the decadence of nations, and foretell in how long a time a particular set of political conditions, or a particular set of national vices, will bring a people to its ruin, have made a useless calculation if they have not taken into account the renovating influence of the Catholic church. This influence, with

greater or less activity, has always been in operation. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, in Europe, society seemed to be entering upon a state of decomposition, when two reformers appeared in the persons of Saints Francis and Dominic, and the age in which they lived came to be looked upon as the most glorious one through which the Church has ever passed. The age of the Council of Trent witnessed a similar renovation in the Church, and our own nineteenth century has seen marvelous instances of the operation of the Holy Ghost in bringing about revivals of Catholic fervor. But the special kind of revival which we hope for would involve a greater revolution, and the conversion of a greater number of souls than in either the thirteenth or sixteenth centuries, for it means nothing less than a series of wholesale conversions among the various English-speaking peoples. The hope is a bold one, and the means to realise it seem, from a human point of view, wholly inadequate. Yet the hope was entertained last century by Blessed Paul of the Cross in spite of still greater improbabilities than those existing at present, and our reigning Pontiff, Pope Leo XIII, seems almost sanguine in his expectations of a speedy Catholic revival among the Protestant nations.

The history of a great revival, at least in its beginnings, means the biography of a great man. That is the experience of the world in secular matters, and still more so in religious. Just as the lives of William the Conqueror and George Washington record the foundations of a strong government, and of victories over anarchy in their respective countries, so the lives of St. Benedict, St. Francis, St. Ignatius and St. Philip Neri record the inception of great reforms which have checked the ebb-tide of decadence within the Church. Such saintly reformers are, perhaps, the most striking manifestation of the Church's supernatural powers of recuperation. They are the men of the moment, sent in answer to prayers and strong yearnings, at a time when average Christians, convinced of their own helplessness, are tempted to despair of the future of the world. If the course of divine Providence is to be the same in the future as it has been in the past, the conversion of the English-speaking world will be accomplished through the instrumentality of a few chosen souls whose lives will be a standing contradiction to the mass of wrong ideas and slavery to custom which are the result of three and a half centuries of Protestantism. The present century has seen an O'Connell struggling against a tyranny which deprived Catholics of many material advantages, but what we look for in the coming century is a greater O'Connell and a greater Catholic Emancipation, to free us from a spiritual tyranny, and from all the worldliness, pride and blindness of soul which are so bound up with all our efforts after what we call progress.

We are apt to look upon progress as a thing almost confined to Christian nations. Indeed, commercial activity, inventiveness, human learning and skill in the fine arts, qualities which mark a progressive people, have always been encouraged by the Church. Even colonial expansion, apart from the crying abuses which so frequently disgrace it, has had the strongest approval of Pope after Pope, for colonization by a Catholic power means the protection and development of Catholic missions. In fact a certain material progress is necessary for spiritual progress, just as spirit has need of matter. But it is possible for matter to outgrow the spirit, for material progressiveness to cause a spiritual retrogression, and there are probably few instructed Catholics who do not perceive that this very disease is threatening terrible evils, even destruction itself, to our latter-day civilisation.

The doctrine of progress has been called the creed of the nineteenth century and, although the faith of some of its adherents has somewhat fallen off of late years, it continues to be a belief actuating the whole practical life of most modern civilized nations. It has been reduced, to the satisfaction of its adherents, to a complete philosophical system in the shape of the theory of evolution. It has been applied in a practical way to the development of nations; and the world is looking forward, not without apprehension, to the grandiose spectacle of nature working out her laws in a great struggle for existence amongst the chief Christian peoples. That nation which is best fitted to survive will come best out of the struggle, and it is the happy consciousness of the English-speaking peoples that, given a few years more in which to hurry on their rapid development, the united world will no longer be able to stand against them; that they will be able to overwhelm and entirely assimilate the united world unto themselves, so that none but English ideas and English free institutions shall exist in the world henceforth and forever. Such a glorious consummation would, of course, be brought about all the more speedily by a great fighting alliance between England and America, and when once these two nations had subdued every other for the ultimate benefit of all parties concerned, they would maintain universal peace not only over the rest of the world, but also among themselves.

Such, in all seriousness, seems to be the dream of not a few Pan-Anglo-Americans, but Catholics, who are patriotic without being blind to their country's real good, cannot but see that, unless a great, and indeed a miraculous change is wrought upon us, an Anglo-American ascendancy would do more harm than good. For how can any Catholic suppose that a race of men which, more than any other since the Reformation, has been under the influence of

Protestant ideas, which moreover has been brought by Protestantism dangerously near the brink of infidelity, is in a fit condition to become the predominant people of the world? Yet no one can deny that our ascendancy is growing day by day. A large portion of the world's surface is occupied by English colonies, many of which, such as Canada, Australia and South Africa, are on their way to becoming great nations. America, to use the language of the day, is becoming conscious of her destiny as a great world-power, and throughout the whole of the English world there is a feeling of a common mission and of a consequent necessity of mutual sacrifice and union. This desire for union is a good thing in itself, quite apart from the motives which inspire it, and it will pave the way for a greater freedom of the Church's action amongst us. But the fact still remains that it has arisen without the Church having much to say in the matter, and Protestants are fond of asserting that we are a great people precisely because the Catholic Church has not been allowed to interfere with our progress. We, however, as Catholics, are inclined to see in this extraordinary expansion of the English nations a closer connection with the destinies of the Church than non-Catholics dream of. It may be that, if the Church is not the efficient cause of our rapid increase and of our temporal greatness, she is, in the designs of Providence, the final cause. Perhaps it is ordained that, just as the Pagan Roman empire prepared the way for the rapid spread of early Christianity, so the great material empire of trade and colonization, built up by English and American enterprise, may become, under the direction of Heaven, the means of spreading Catholic truth over the greater part of the world.

If this be so, it is important that English and American Catholics should become conscious of the common mission of their respective nations, and especially of their own mission as Catholics among their fellow countrymen. It is the consciousness of a great mission which often, ere now, has made that mission a reality, and this is especially the case in work of the spiritual order, for this consciousness produces a strong and confident desire for a great common spiritual good, which desire, if it be not already the selfsame unfailing form of prayer which God cannot resist, is, at least, but one step removed from it. But if our consciousness is to be such as to make us enthusiasts believing all things, hoping all things, and praying for what we know to be the highest good for the country which we love, it must not, at the same time, make us blind to the general failings of our time and our own shortcomings in particular. And indeed, it must be confessed, that these failings are so great, that for the fulfilment of our hopes in the future we must mainly rely upon miracles of grace.

The Catholic Church is the only force upon earth which can save England and America from ruin and from the results of that very energy and spirit of enterprise of which we are so proud. It will help us little to have opened up unknown continents, to have brought distant shores together with our swift steamers and to have united half the world by the bond of a common tongue, if we have done all this for no other end than to gratify our own selfishness and pander to our own lusts. Our accumulated wealth will be an unmixed evil if its only result is to raise the standard of bodily comfort, and to multiply our wants in a greater degree than it provides the means of satisfying them. Our unions and imperial federations will not save us from civil war and from internal decadence if our laws relax the bonds of virtuous family life and refuse to recognize the sacredness of the union between husband and wife. If we are hated for our pride and feared for our tyranny, nations will band together against us and subject races will chafe beneath our rule. Yet all these evils are threatening to overwhelm us, and there are many non-Catholics who perceive that, if religion can save society, the only religion that can do so is that of the Catholic Church.

This glance at our vicious tendencies is not a mere pessimist view of the situation; indeed, if the present writer did not entertain great hopes of the future, he would not be offering these pages to Catholic readers. It is the characteristic of a great nation to survive great internal evils, just as it is the mark of a man of strong character to know and master his own defects. It will be a glorious day for the English-speaking peoples when they have recognized and overcome their national vices of materialism and pride. They may then without fear take the lead among nations, for, in their leading, they will find willing followers. We sometimes hear of a prophecy that England will some day be converted, but that the conversion will not take place until she has been humiliated. Such a condition of conversion is a bitter one for a true Catholic who loves his country, though he would not hesitate to set her spiritual welfare before any degree of merely temporal prosperity. But, after all, the condition contained in the prophecy sounds almost like a truism, and it must apply to every nation which bows beneath the yoke of Christ, America among the rest. The Romans were humbled before they became Christians, but their humiliation came from no foreign enemy. It was the self-humiliation of individuals beneath the hand of God, and, if it had been more complete and more permanent, civilization would not have known the long interruption caused by the barbarian inroads. Of all kinds of humiliation self-humiliation is the most spiritually profitable besides being,

in the long run, the easiest for flesh and blood. Yet it will not readily be accepted by the English peoples so long as they make industrial pre-eminence their one aim and their glory. For the spirit of materialism will blind them to their own shortcomings and to the duties which they owe to God and to mankind. Now history has proved that no other religion than that of the Catholic Church has ever kept these duties before the minds of princes and peoples, or even in its own mind made any clear distinction between the spiritual and the temporal goods at which a nation should aim. Protestantism has confused the two to a surprising degree, and in England the confusion is admirably illustrated by the national monuments to be found in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. Most of the heroes there commemorated are not such as have bettered humanity by an extraordinary example of the Christian virtues, but statesmen, poets, scientists, writers and soldiers, whose work for their country was, for the most part, far from disinterested. If success in life is religion, then, truly, does the spirit of religion breathe in St. Paul's and in the Protestant additions to Westminster Abbey.

Modern Protestants often boast of making light of dogma and of fine theological distinctions. A result of this large-minded comprehensiveness is that they have, to a perilous extent, lost sight of the distinction between nature and grace, between success and right intention, between the service of God and the service of one's country. With them the theological virtues are often either mistaught as in the case of faith, or almost ignored as in that of the true nature of divine charity. They have little or no provision for the cure of hidden sins, and certain forms of pride are looked upon by them as legitimate self-respect.

Our pride of race is likely to work us great mischief in the near future, unless it is largely tempered by Christian charity and humility. In the United States, and still more in the British Empire, a large part of our fellow-citizens are of the colored races. The color problem is causing serious apprehension in America and, ere long, it may be a cause of even greater difficulty in several of the English colonies. The difficulty was unknown in ancient times, for the two great conquering peoples of Greece and Rome had to deal with subjects who, individually, were their equals, and with whom they had no difficulty in amalgamating. But, in our days, the white and black races are brought into closer contact than ever before, and the former show the utmost repugnance to settling down on an equal and friendly footing with men who are, in many respects, their inferiors. A white man in the States will refuse to travel in the same railway car with a negro, and a colonist in South

Africa will have the same dislike of associating with a Kaffir. A black is welcome to the privilege of fighting for the country of his adoption or of earning his bread by his labor, so long, at least, as he does not, by his competition, arouse the jealousy of his white fellow-laborers. But, if he aspires to social equality with the predominant race, he soon finds himself regarded as a being of an inferior order. The question is further complicated by the fact that the members of a race which has been savage for centuries often show themselves manifestly unfit to enter upon the conditions of modern civilisation. Without being previously christianised they are placed in a set of circumstances requiring a circumspection and self-control which they have never been taught to exercise, and amid temptations which they are unaccustomed to resist. Hence they frequently display a peculiar cunning, treachery and depravity which makes them still more odious to those among whom they mingle, but which a suitable previous training would either mitigate or entirely root out. As it is, they have no other training than that of living the external life of modern civilisation and of joining in the rush of modern progress. Who knows in how many cases their ultimate fate will resemble that of the Red Indians and of the aboriginal Australians, who have gradually dwindled away to their present miserable remnant? Such a settlement of the question would be quite in accordance with the approved teaching of evolution, but entirely contrary to the charity of the Gospel. However, it is not at all likely that the greater part of the colored races will dwindle away as some of them have done. They are numerous enough and warlike enough to hold their own. Their power for mischief will always be great if they are not treated as friends, for many of them are already trained soldiers in our own armies and with modern weapons, they are in no way inferior, individually, to their civilised comrades. Some day, perhaps, they will learn to know their power and the strength that comes of organisation, and then the selfishness and greed of civilised nations will cause their science and their inventions to be used for their own destruction. At best, when we consider the natural antipathies between the white and the black races and the vast latent power of the latter, it seems extremely unlikely that the two will live together without coming into a long and deadly conflict, unless the unitive influence of the Catholic Church exerts itself to a greater degree than it has ever done before. The church did a great work in Europe after the barbarian inroads when, by means of a common religion, she brought about the amalgamation, in so many countries, of conqueror and conquered. But a harder task lies before her now that she is called upon to temper some of the most potent tendencies

of modern civilisation, in order to produce fraternity and peace between races of different color and strong mutual antipathies, most of whom, moreover, have yet to be gathered within her fold.

It is within the English-speaking dominions more than in any other part of the globe that the color question and many other social problems will call for solution. Whether they are to be solved for good or for evil, so as to bring peace and true progress, or dissolution and decadence, will depend upon the rapidity with which the Catholic Church is able to spread amongst us. In order that it may spread with rapidity we must make it clear to our fellow countrymen that the Catholic system is the only one capable of adequately providing against the evils with which society is threatened. In other words the Catholic Church must be much better known, and known for the conspicuous practice among her children of those virtues which are opposed to our national vices. Now race hatred between black and white, a result of our national pride, is a mischievous fault which Catholics should be the last to tolerate among themselves.

Materialism, a vice no less dangerous to ourselves than our pride of race, and a special characteristic of the English-speaking nations, is partly the cause and partly the result of our extraordinary commercial prosperity. It is connected with qualities of which any nation possessing them has good reason to be proud; for straightforwardness, energy and self-reliance, if they are the virtues which build up an empire, are also, after the proper transformation, a suitable ground-work for Christian heroism. They are signs that our race, as a whole, has not fallen into decadence; that, though decomposition may have set in in places, the evil is still curable, and that the body itself is sound. A decadent race, moreover, will lose its patriotism, as was the case with the Athenians, the Romans and the Byzantines, but patriotism has not grown cold among the English peoples. Though England and America, from the necessities of their commerce, are peace-loving nations, yet no one has any doubt that their national spirit is a force which may be counted on in times of necessity. Now, the Church has always had freer scope for her action in a vigorous than in a decadent nation, and she knows how to make use of energies which are being misdirected. In her eyes energies that run wild are better than no energy at all.

A great evil of the Middle Ages was the existence of a vast amount of warlike energy not kept under control. The Church found a useful outlet for it in the crusades, and satisfied the fighting instincts of her children without danger to their souls. A threatening evil of another order in our own day, a result of materialism, is the accumulation of great wealth into a few private hands. The

existence in a state of a number of millionaires with little or no sense of responsibility for their riches, is destructive of real wealth, and is a cause of great social discontent. Even when he has the good will to use his wealth for the common good, a millionaire often has not the ability to spend his riches judiciously, and he finds that the results of his donations bear no proportion to the amount he has expended. Everyone knows what vast sums of money have been spent upon bible-societies and Protestant missions, and with what little result, while money bequeathed to the poor is sometimes administered so indiscreetly as actually to promote pauperism. The active orders of charity and the various social organizations which are springing up amongst Catholics in various countries show that the Church knows how to cope with the evils of the time, and to provide a security that the alms of her wealthier children are not wasted. Her active charity promises to become more and more developed in the future, and the coming age may see a crusade of wealth, bearing analogies to the crusades of arms in the Middle Ages. If this be so the dollars and pounds sterling in which the English peoples are wont to trust will be made to acknowledge a power in this world higher than themselves, and, instead of being the cause of speculation, economic depressions, over-strained activity and forgetfulness of God, they will become the means of salvation to their possessors and a support to the social and missionary work of the Church.

We thus see that our qualities of energy and industry are matters for congratulation only in so far as they help us to become better Catholics and to form a society more and more in accordance with the ideas of the Church.

We will here consider another characteristic of the English-speaking world, which we claim as our own in an especial manner and of which we are prouder, perhaps, than of any other quality. This is our love of liberty. Other nations talk of liberty, and make all kinds of efforts to attain it, but we have it, and it has been the possession of our sires and ourselves for quite a respectable number of years. We enjoy free institutions and we pity other nations whose efforts after a similar freedom only result in shifting tyranny from one side of the state to another. We know that liberty is an enviable possession for individuals, and that the Church absolutely requires it for her proper development. Liberty has been commended by many writers. St. Paul* says that all Christians are called to it. It was much eulogised by the authors of the French Revolution as well as by Goethe, the chief apostle of the modern

*Gal. v. 13.

spirit. With Saint Paul liberty implied room for the development of the supernatural man, with Goethe room for development of the natural man. St. Paul taught that Christian liberty is not inconsistent with actual slavery, though it is true that the Church has always considered that corporal liberty is the more fitting accompaniment of spiritual: modern apostles of liberty, on the contrary, dislike slavery and despotism, not so much because they are likely to hinder spiritual good, but because they stand in the way of merely temporal advantages. In short, liberty as understood by the Church, and liberty as understood by modern secularists, though they have some things in common, are yet essentially different, and inconsistent with one another. The one is freedom to do what is right, the other is freedom to do what you like. They are essentially different because they depend upon essentially different principles. The principle of one is the authority of God, that of the other is the supposed independence of man. Christian liberty assumes that this world is a preparation for the next, secular liberty makes this world its paradise. Hence Catholics and secularists both desire political liberty, but for different reasons. Catholics desire it, primarily, that they may not be interfered with in the practice of their religion, and only secondarily because of its temporal advantages: secularists desire it solely because of its temporal advantages. With secularists tyrannicide is consistently regarded as a virtue, because despotism stands in the way of their *summum bonum*, the happiness that comes of freedom from restraint. With Catholics, on the contrary, tyrannicide is a crime, because the evil of tyranny is *per accidens* and does not necessarily stand in the way of their *summum bonum*, which is the possession of God. As a matter of fact, however, the Church has, over and over again, stood up as the opponent of despotism and the champion of political liberty, not because she objected on principle to despotism in itself, but because, on the occasions on which she interfered, it happened to stand in the way of the spiritual or even the temporal good of her children. The early Norman kings of England, and Henry II, the first of the Plantagenets, were strong despotic rulers at a time when strong despotic rule was precisely the form of government required by the country. These kings, who had saved England from anarchy, were often in conflict with the Church upon one question or another, and, but for the Church, their government would gradually have degenerated into pure tyranny. As it was, the Church was victorious in the struggle, and was the chief power that secured civic liberty from their successors.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century the feudal system prevailed in Italy as in the rest of Europe. The Church had never

loved the feudal system, though she had, to some extent, to conform to it and change her organisation to suit it. Bishops were but too often feudal lords first and shepherds of their flocks afterwards: the idea of evangelical poverty had almost died out, and the independence of the Church in dealing with her clergy was largely curtailed. It was by a stroke of pious strategy that this state of things ws suddenly put an end to in Italy. In 1227 Pope Gregory IX ascended the papal throne. He had formerly, as Cardinal Ugolino, been protector of the Franciscan order, and it is known that he helped St. Francis to draw up the rules of the Third Order. The rule enacted, among other things, that no tertiary was to bind himself by oath, or to bear arms except in defence of his country or of religion. These two enactments, simple as they may appear, were destructive of the feudal system upon which society was organized. For, according to that system, the vassal bound himself by oath to follow the fortunes of his lord in the field, and to take part in all his private wars. The feudal lords of the time, besides maintaining continual warfare among themselves, were unjust and tyrannical in their treatment of their vassals, and these latter were eager to to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the Third Order of St. Francis. They accordingly had themselves enrolled and, in virtue of obedience to their rule, refused to take the oath of allegiance to their feudal lords or to bear arms in their service. In their resistance they had the strength of numbers and were backed by the powerful moral support of Gregory IX, who declared that the members of the Third Order were truly religious, and were not to be interfered with in their devout way of life. Eventually they won the day. Feudalism in Italy received its death-blow, and men used to say that the world was transformed into a monastery.

It is from such historical examples that we gather what the Church understands by liberty, and how far she prizes it as a condition of the life of her children. It will now be well to consider how far those Catholics who live under free institutions are at an advantage as compared with those who do not; for our conclusions may throw some light upon the question to what extent the Catholic spirit, which is ever the same in essentials, would be modified as regards accidentals in its acceptance by the English-speaking nations. Now the character of a people is modified by its institutions, and that character in turn reacts upon the people's religious spirit. Thus the people of England under the Tudor dynasty were accustomed to pay blind obedience to their sovereigns, and this spirit of undue submissiveness cost them their faith. The descendants of those who held firm to their religion, living under a govern-

ment which was for them a tyranny, gradually dwindled away to a small remnant, and it was only after greater freedom was secured for English Catholics by the Emancipation, that they received a fresh addition to their numbers at the time of the Oxford movement.

Here we have an instance in which a despotic government so acted upon the character of the English people as to unfit them to be good Catholics. Of course there were other causes at work besides a mere form of government, but there can be no doubt that the habit which the nation had acquired of regarding the will of its sovereign as law, was the immediate cause of its falling into schism and heresy. The contrary effects of political freedom are seen in the history of the thirteenth century. That century, often regarded as the Golden Age of the Church, was also an age of great political freedom. In England it saw the rise of the parliament which still lives on, the same in substance though naturally changed in character, and which has been transplanted in another form to America. The thirteenth century was also the age of St. Louis when France, then the greatest nation in the world, enjoyed a greater measure of civic freedom than she has ever had since. Lastly, we have already seen how, in the same century, the emancipation of society in Italy was effected by the Third Order of St. Francis. The age of the despots had not yet come, and the Italian republics were enjoying that political liberty which had been secured for them by the Popes.

In this present century the Catholic Church has derived undoubted advantages from the freedom of English-speaking institutions. Nowhere, we often hear it said, has the Church greater freedom than in America, and English Catholics have hardly more to complain of on the score of civil disabilities than their American brethren. Yet the position of Catholics in both countries is not without its drawbacks. In either country, for instance, it is no uncommon thing for a young man to find that his religion is an obstacle from a commercial or a social point of view, or to be taxed more heavily than his fellow citizens for the education of his children. It is true that such conditions are, or should be, a wholesome test of a Catholic's steadfastness in his principles, but they are hardly a proof of unrestricted liberty. The wording of the law may make for liberty, but the spirit of those who live under the law may have its thin veins of tyranny which, on occasions, will develop into something more unmistakable. Free institutions are like free trade, everybody gains something from them, but the chief gain goes to the predominant power. Our countrymen, at present, do not think they have much to fear from Catholics, who are greatly in the minority, but it may happen, and probably will happen, in the future, that when England and America become more Catholic,

non-Catholics will become more anti-Catholic, and the freedom of our national institutions may be restricted for our especial disadvantage, after the example set by the liberators of the French Revolution. In short, our institutions, if their freedom is to be a living and permanent thing, stand in need of the spirit of the Catholic Church; for the Church is the only body upon earth which takes a true and comprehensive view of the whole of human life, and knows how to adjust its various relations. With her, liberty exists for the sake of the law, and the law maintains liberty as its best safeguard; with secularists the law exists for the sake of liberty, and liberty for self. Now as long as the law is based upon mere human expediency, and not upon the divine law as taught by the Church, it stands upon shifting ground, and liberty is not secure. It is because of their persuasion of this truth that English-speaking Catholics, whose love for their country is wedded to their love for their religion, are looking forward to a fuller harmony between Church and state, between the spirit of their Church and the spirit of their nation, so that the latter, in the height of its human vigor, before the downward current of degeneration begins to set in, may be purified and preserved by contact with the former. Wherever there is liberty there are always tendencies at work to convert it into license. Examples of such tendencies are not wanting in our own times, though we still maintain our character for being a law-abiding people, but our virtues, being human, must perish like all other human things, unless they are united to the supernatural virtues of the Catholic Church. The Church is necessary to a democracy. She keeps alive the virtue of reverence for authority which a democracy, left to itself, is only too apt to lose, and when reverence is gone, the qualities that evoke it are apt to go too.

Our spirit of liberty, as it exists to-day, is composed of elements many of which are entirely admirable and worthy of forming a part in the spirit of the Catholic Church. For our liberty is founded upon self-restraint and obedience to law. There is a healthy conservatism amongst us which prevents us from giving up what is best among the good things which our fathers have bequeathed to us. It is true that democracy is gaining ground amongst us, and that we have in our communities men who are advocates of the very worst forms of democracy. It is true that we have, at times, been ruled, for a moment, by the shouts of noisy minorities, but, in the end, the better judgment and the truly representative opinion of our people has prevailed. The evil tendencies of our liberty are strong, but its better tendencies are stronger still, and in them lies the safety of our country. But, ere long, without the advent of a great moral revolution, this aspect of affairs will change for the

worse. The good will be overbalanced by the evil. For all the good that is in us beyond what we possess in common with the lowest barbarians, comes to us indirectly from the Catholic Church. Three and a half centuries ago the English-speaking people, then identical with the English nation, cut itself away from the Church. During these three centuries and a half there have been amongst us Puritans, Quakers, Methodists and Anglicans with variously distorted versions of Catholic truth. It is to them that our race as a whole, during the time of its most rapid development, has owed what it possesses of revealed truth and moral observance. But the deposit of revealed truth outside the Catholic minority is now a rapidly diminishing quantity, and it must follow that, when truth has disappeared, the practice of the moral virtues will disappear too. Our liberty will then become license, and our democracy, though still capable of great things, will end in political decomposition and anarchy. This must be so from the nature of things and history has proved it. There is no force but the Catholic Church which can stem the current of degeneration.

The ultimate victory of the Catholic Church will be hastened on by a renovation of spirit among her own children. Catholics will be a great determining power for good if they are thoroughly Catholic and thoroughly patriotic. They should be patriotic with that larger patriotism which goes beyond its own nation, and the absence of which hinders the peaceful and unitive mission of the Church. Their patriotism too should be enlightened and its enlightenment should come from the one divinely appointed source of all true enlightenment.

There can be no doubt that the Catholic spirit as it exists amongst us has had much to suffer from the more unspiritual influences of our surroundings. Our faith in the truths of religion is tinctured to some extent with the prevailing faith in the power of dollars and pounds sterling. Our unwholesome business activity, too, inclines us to forget the force that lives in the life of contemplation and union with God. Our age is one of newly discovered forces: we are intoxicated with the thought of the power which we suppose them to confer upon us, and we glory in the thought that we have seen wonders of which our forefathers never dreamed. Yet the world has not changed very much as regards matters of vital consequence. The balance of good and evil has not been materially altered for the better. If God has made use of the Atlantic cables to spread his truth, the devil too has found in them a ready means for the more rapid diffusion of his falsehoods, and it would be hard to prove that the latter has not been the more paying customer. The coming age, if the Church is destined to conquer our English-speaking

materialism, will see current amongst us an entirely new set of ideas as regards our relations to the blind forces which we have made to be our slaves. The twentieth century, too, will be an age of newly discovered forces such as will make us think little of those which astonish us now. These forces will be in the moral order. There will be a new light, brighter than our electricity: a new motive power more wonderful than all the inventions of our engineers. There will be a new love centering in the Cross and ten times stronger than that which forms the burden of our modern fiction. Men will be organized in great combinations for objects which the world at present does not take into account, but which will be held as of greater consequence than all the blessings which philanthropists or socialists yearn for in their dreams. The apostleship of science will yield its right place to the apostleship of prayer.

There is a notion not uncommon among Catholics that the day of the contemplative religious orders is all but past, and that in the future the great servants of God will be men and women leading an active life. Now the active life recommends itself to Englishmen and Americans much more than the contemplative, and the members of the working orders among us far outnumber those who live in retirement from the world. Yet it may well be doubted if this state of things is destined to continue. At present it is a necessity of the times, for so great is the disproportion between the number of pastors in the Church and the work they have to do, that a solitary who serves God in retirement almost makes us imagine that, while he is increasing his own measure of salvation, he is allowing many other souls to perish. We know moreover that in times of necessity the Church has called her great contemplatives from their solitudes to save mankind from impending evils. Indeed it is the common doctrine of theologians that, if the contemplative light be higher than the active, the combination of the two, as exhibited in such saints as Bernard, Francis of Assisi, Ignatius and numerous others, is in the highest grade of all. Yet it is none the less true than the purely contemplative life has been sought after by many of the most active of the missionary saints, and it was only at the call of obedience that they consented to leave their solitudes. The union of the two lives, moreover, is exceedingly difficult to practice in its perfection. To be in the world and not of the world requires the kind of self-restraint which must be practised by one who fasts while sitting at a banquet. Hence it is a common thing for such as aim at the perfect life to shrink from the dangers that attend active work for souls unless they are well persuaded that God wills otherwise.

It is always a good thing for the world to have cloistered in the

midst of it a number of men who despise the world. Such was the belief of the various corporations of the Spanish cities which gave their support to the new foundations of St. Teresa, and such has always been the belief of those nations in which the true Catholic spirit has flourished. When Catholic princes founded monasteries for Carthusians and Cistercians, they recognised a principle of division of labor between layman and monk, between those who work in the world and those who pray apart from it; and they held that the contamination of the world would be counterbalanced by the trebly guarded purity of the cloister. Now, worldliness is not less a danger in our own day than it was in the Middle Ages, and where there exists a model Catholic community the same division of duties will be necessary, for it is always the desire of the Church that the various ideals contained in the Gospel should all of them be realised by some at least of the faithful. One of these ideals is that of the contemplative Mary who chose "the better part." It follows then that in the great Catholic Revival, which we look for in the English-speaking world, we may expect to see a renewal of that same spirit which led the anchorites of old to seek the solitude of the Thebaid and which still continues to exist among the Trappists, the Carthusians and other enclosed orders.

It may happen in the future that there will be other causes at work to make necessary an increase of the religious and contemplative life in the Church. If the Church is destined to have a wide and effective influence as peacemaker, it will follow that population must tend to increase at a far greater rate than it does at present. Hitherto pestilence, famine and war have been the great remedies against over-population in the world. The action of the two first of these scourges has been to some extent limited by modern science and modern facilities of transport, and there is reason to believe that the danger of them will continue to grow less and less. If then the Church, by securing permanent peace in the world, enables mankind to battle still more successfully against starvation and disease, the population of the world will grow more quickly than its means of support, and the only check to its increase will be the practice of evangelical celibacy by vast multitudes of men and women. Whether this remedy will ever actually become a necessity no one can venture to predict, but, supposing the complete ascendancy of the Church in the world, it is hard to see how it could be avoided. At all events it is interesting to note that the Catholic Church has against over-population a remedy which is not a scourge but a blessing, and that the Protestant system has made no such provision.

An objection will naturally suggest itself to some of our readers

that this kind of speculation as to the remote future is extremely unpractical and that Catholics will use their philosophy to a better purpose if they bring it to bear upon the more immediate wants of their fellow men. At the same time it must be remembered that secularist thinkers are making their own forecasts as to the probable evolution of man as a social and political being, and our labour will not be wasted if it can be shown that our generalisations have a greater measure of reasonableness than theirs. Much too will have been done if we bring well home to ourselves, and are able to convince others, that the supernatural idea is of paramount importance even for the material well-being of mankind. We have to show the world that, if human nature is left to itself, it will fall under the law of devolution rather than of evolution; for, unless it receives force from without, it has not sufficient strength to withstand the inroads of decay. Just as a soul, after losing sanctifying grace, cannot reinstate itself by its own unaided efforts, so a nation, once fallen, cannot lift itself up, unless by help from without. There may be in it the semblance of life, and men may think its actions worth recording; there may be excitement and feverish energy, but of true life there is none. Its history is no more worthy of record than a dance of dead leaves. It is only by an influx of supernatural life that it can be saved from this degradation, and it is only from the Catholic Church that this influx can be received. The Church, in virtue of its supernatural powers, is the constituted channel of new potencies and of new force from without to elevate the life of nations from the abyss towards which they are continually tending.

It is with such great principles as these in our mind that we must regulate and super-naturalise our patriotism. If we form great and worthy hopes of the future of our race, we shall, by a natural consequence, pray earnestly that these hopes may be realised, and all Catholics believe with Pope Leo XIII, that united prayer is the greatest force which men have at their disposal. The hopes of our fellow countrymen, in which we heartily join, are that the whole English-speaking world, the subjects of "King Shakespeare," will unite together as the great promoting influence for peace and civilisation. We, as Catholics, further hope and pray that our race may receive its necessary purgation by self-humiliation rather than from the fiery scourges of God, and that we may become a mighty power for spreading the true faith among mankind.

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RECENT SOLUTIONS OF THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEMS.

[Die Logia Jesu nach dem Griechischen und Hebräischen Text wiederhergestellt. Ein versuch von D. Alfred Resch. Leipzig, 1898.

Die Synoptischen Parallelen und ein alter versuch ilner Entiätselung mit neuer Begründung von. Lic. theol. Karl veit, Gutersloh, 1897.]

IF two biographies agree not only in the items of their history but also in their plan and verbal expression, we reasonably infer that either one depends on the other, or that both depend on a common third source. Now it so happens that our first three gospels which are, after all, true biographies of Jesus Christ, agree not only in their choice of material, but also to a great extent in their general arrangement of detail and their very words and clauses. Every Bible reader knows that the corresponding sections of these three gospels can be harmonized in parallel columns, and that on account of this striking parallelism the name "synoptic gospels" and "synoptists" has been given to the narratives and their authors respectively. This agreement of the synoptic gospels is found not only in the main divisions of the life of Christ, but extends also to about a hundred minor sections, at least fifty of which are common to the three, thus constituting the so-called triple tradition, while about thirty are common to the first and the third gospel, and the remaining twenty belong either to both the second and first gospel, or to the second and the third, furnishing us in any case with the double tradition. The wonderful harmony between the gospels may be described more strikingly still by drawing attention to the fact that only one-third of the number of verses from the total of what is peculiar property of the three synoptists, while a full sixth of the number of verses is common to all. The history of the paralytic as told in Mt. ix. 1-8, Mk. ii. 1-12, and Lk. v. 17-26 may serve to illustrate the agreement of the synoptists in language and expression. Compare, e. g., the sixth verse of Matthew with the tenth of Mark and the twenty-fourth of Luke: "But that you may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (then said he to the man sick of the palsy), Arise, etc." (Mt.); "but that you may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (he saith to the sick of the palsy), I say to thee, etc." (Mk.); but that you may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (he saith to the sick of the palsy), I say to thee, etc." (Lk.). Here we have an agreement of

the three synoptic gospels not only as to matter but also in words and in the very irregularity of construction.

On the other hand, we find a notable discrepancy between the first three gospels, whether we regard the choice of material or its arrangement or again its verbal expression. The second gospel lacks the history of the infancy, while the series of its events given in the first gospel differs materially from that contained in the third; the history of the resurrection is told in all the synoptic gospels, but the variations are so striking that adverse critics find irreconcilable contradictions in them; the history of the call of Peter as contained in Lk. v. 1-11 has a quite different setting from the account of the same event in Mt. iv. 18-22 and Mk. i. 16-20. Even where parallel passages agree almost verbatim, stray omissions or additions occur in one or another of the three gospels without any assignable law; the first gospel, e.g., omits in the history of the paralytic the detail that the sick man was lowered through an opening in the roof. What has been said illustrates rather than proves the discrepancy of the synoptic gospels; but it sufficiently shows that their relationship cannot be of the first degree in either the direct or the collateral line. If we were to find only agreement as to matter and form of expression in the three synoptic gospels, they might be related one to another as parent to child or as brother to sister; but the mutual disagreement is so pronounced that the three gospels can at best be but cousins. The knot that must be united happens to be a tangle of mutual agreement and disagreement; the problem to be solved appears to have more unknown quantities than independent equations, so that the method of addition and subtraction has thus far proved as ineffectual a solvent as that of substitution and comparison. In order to explain the origin of the synoptic gospels, some writers have had recourse to the theory of mutual dependence, deriving one gospel from the other; others have followed the theory of pre-canonical gospels, explaining the agreements and disagreements of the synoptists by their use of pre-existing documents; others again have adhered to the combination theory, admitting the use of both pre-canonical documents on the part of the synoptists, and of the earlier gospels on the part of the later evangelists. All possible suppositions have been made in each of these three theories, so that the literature of this subject forms a long chapter in the book of human errors. Not to weary the reader with a list of names and an account of failures, we merely state what Holtzmann[1] calls the results of the investigation: first, Matthew must have collected the words of our Lord, the "Logia Jesu;" then, Mark wrote a short

[1] Handcomm. z. N. T., Einl., iii, 5.

account of the deeds of our Lord, following the preaching of Peter; thirdly, a writer compiled Matthew's Logia with Mark's narrative in a work that is now our first gospel; fourthly, we may suppose that Mark's work underwent a revision, and the improved and perhaps enlarged edition of Mark is our second gospel; lastly, Luke composed his gospel, making use of the entire pre-existing literature on the subject.

The foregoing results are dated 1892; in 1898 we find them somewhat modified by Resch,[1] though he professes to agree with Holtzmann in most cases.[2] The author of the Logia is firmly convinced of the truth of three theses: first, the gospel of Mark is older than that of Matthew and Luke; secondly, Matthew and Luke made use of Mark on the one hand and of a work called "Logia of Jesus" on the other; thirdly, even Mark utilized the Logia of Jesus. Resch has not been content with defending his opinion in the abstract as it were, leaving his reader uncertain as to the character of the Logia; but he has actually made the attempt to reconstruct the lost work from other books in which he believes, to discover the matter and form of their source; furthermore, convinced that the original Logia were written in Hebrew, the learned writer has given us the reconstructed text of the Logia in both Greek and Hebrew, arranged in parallel columns. Before we investigate whether Resch has really succeeded in reconstructing the true sources of the synoptic gospels, in other words, whether he has solved the synoptic problem, we must premise a study of the writer's latest production.

It cannot be denied that owing to his previous studies[3] Resch is eminently fitted to attempt a reconstruction of the Logia, if the work in itself does not present insurmountable difficulties. The plan of the new work is so clear and simple, that the book forces the attention, and almost the affection of the student, at first sight. Thirty-two pages are devoted to a practical introduction and the table of contents; two hundred and twenty pages form the body of the work, while the remaining eighty-two pages are filled with various indices. The body of the work contains first the Greek and Hebrew text of the Logia, and secondly, two classes of running footnotes, the first of which give the sources from which each particular part of the Logia has been reconstructed, while the notes of the second class indicate the variations of text that deserve special attention. Special signs mark the texts whose original position, or verbal expression, or material presence in the Logia, the

[1] Logia Jesu, p. iv. [2] Ibid. xxiii.

[3] Cf. Agrapha, Aussercanonische Evangelienfragmente, 1889; Aussercanonische Parallelltexte zu den Evangelien, 1893-1897.

author considers doubtful, while others render visible those parts that have been taken from extra-canonical sources, or that are represented by synonymous variants. Reference is rendered very easy by the division of the text into chapters, and of the chapters into verses, so that the Bible reader need not change his usual manner of citing.

Resch defends the view that Matthew is the author of the Logia.[1] In support of his thesis, he appeals first to an array of patristic authority,[2] for the fact that Matthew wrote a gospel (the Logia according to Papias) in Hebrew, and combines with it a so-called certain result of modern gospel-study that our first gospel must have been written in Greek; hence the identification of Matthew's Hebrew gospel with the pre-canonical Logia. In the second place, Resch is of opinion that the true original position of the catalogue of apostles is at the end of the Logia,[3] and that the reconstructed catalogue of apostles belonging to the Gospel of the Hebrews has all the marks of true genuineness; now, this reconstructed catalogue ends with the words "and me, Matthew," so that the author has unconsciously signed his own works. Besides, there appears to be visible in the Logia a certain predilection on the part of the author for publicans and their state of life. Finally, if the identity of Matthew and Nathanael be not merely nominal, Matthew-Nathanael may be supposed to have been among those publicans that are said to have come to the Baptist,[4] and thus the introduction of the Logia[5] relating as it does the ministry of the Baptist, is a personal reminiscence of the author.

If the reader will allow us to express our opinion on Resch's proofs for his thesis concerning the authorship of the Logia, we must state that not one of the preceding arguments exceeds the value of a conjecture, while the first assumes a false premise. We believe it to be false that the Hebrew origin of our first gospel has been disproved or can be disproved; on the contrary, we consider it as fairly certain that our first gospel was originally written in Hebrew,[6] so that we are in full accord with the series of Fathers alleged, but curtailed, by Resch. As to the first minor premise, even Resch himself cannot assign to the end of this reconstructed Logia, being in its own turn a mere reconstruction, more than the value of a mere conjecture. Again, if there be signs of a predilection for publicans and the state of publicans in the Logia, they are

[1] Cf. Logia, pp. vi, ff. [2] Pantaenus, Irenaeus, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, Theophylactus, Euthymius, etc. [3] The three possible positions are Logia, vi, 4, 5 in accord with Mk. iii, 16-19, Lk. vi, 14-16; Logia ix, 27 in accord with Mt. x, 2-4; and lastly Logia xxxi, 59 in accord with Acts i, 13. [4] Logia, i, 13. [5] i, 1—iii, 3. [6] Cf. Maas, The Gospel according to Matthew, B. Herder, St. Louis, 1898, pp. xxix—xxxiii.

there because Resch himself has thought it fit to admit them; but they are present in our first gospel without any reconstruction on the part of Dr. Resch. Thirdly, as Resch himself represents the identity of Matthew with Nathanael by way of a conjecture that has not yet been confirmed, we need not show the inconclusiveness of his last argument. We may therefore dismiss the thesis that Matthew is the author of the pre-canonical Logia, with the verdict "rendered most improbable by the fallacy of the arguments advanced in its favor."

The second thesis of Dr. Resch declares that the Logia were composed in the first years after the ascension of Jesus Christ, in the city of Jerusalem. External evidence for this opinion is furnished by Theophylactus,[1] codd. K, Grec., 126, cod. Stephani 12, testifying that Matthew wrote his Hebrew gospel eight years after our Lord's ascension, a date confirmed by the ancient tradition that the apostles remained in Palestine twelve years after the coming of the Holy Ghost,[2] and by Eichhorn's belief that the pre-canonical gospel was written A. D. 35; Jerusalem is expressly stated to have been the place of composition in cod. 133, cod. K, and Eutychius: "eiusdem Claudii tempore scripsit Matthaeus evangelium sum Hierosolymis lingua Hebraica." Internal evidence shows that the author of the Logia is a compiler or reporter rather than an independent writer;[3] he must have noted down the words of our Lord at the time of their delivery or immediately after, though he may have retouched them after the ascension, adding their proper historical setting and enlarging his compilation with historical introduction about the ministry of the Baptist and with the narrative of certain scenes taken from the public life of Christ, especially his passion and resurrection.

A moment's reflection will show that if Matthew or any of the apostles had written down the words of our Lord at or about the time of their actual delivery—this view reminds one of the modern reporter rather than the Rabbinic method of proceeding—our first evangelist needed no pre-canonical gospel such as Dr. Resch's Logia to compose the recitative portions of his canonical gospel. And this the more, if Matthew himself composed our first gospel in Jerusalem or its vicinity, about eight years after ascension, as he actually did according to all the ancient witnesses brought into court by Dr. Resch. The naive simplicity of the learned writer's assurances that these ancient witnesses cannot mean what they say, but must rather be so construed as to express his own convictions, would be positively amusing if they did not remind one too strongly of the

[1] Comm. in Matth., prooem. [2] Cf. Varnack, Chronologie der Altchristlichen, Literatur, i pp. 243 f. [3] Cf. Logia vi; xiv-xxv.

deplorable subjectiveness of our modern criticism. The whole line of argument confirms the traditional views concerning the time and place of the origin of our first gospel rather than proves Dr. Resch's thesis.

The author considers his next thesis of secondary, mainly philological interest; it does not concern the material contents of the Logia. The testimony of Papias,[1] that Matthew wrote his Logia in Hebrew, Dr. Resch interprets with Dr. Gaster of London and Prof. Briggs of New York as referring to classical Hebrew, and not to the Aramaic dialect.[2] This does not contradict the opinion that our Lord may have spoken two or even three different languages according to the exigencies of the occasion. Dr. Gaster appeals for his opinion to the fact that even at the time of our Lord all Hebrew literature referring directly to matters of faith and religion, the formulae of prayer, e.g., the treatises of the Mishna, etc., was written in pure Hebrew. Prof. Briggs gives as the reason of his conviction "a special study of all the supposed material of the Logia."[3] Dr. Resch appeals to the internal marks of the sources, and challenges his opponents to retranslate the Logia into Aramaic if they can, as he has retranslated them into Hebrew.

Whatever may be the force of the foregoing arguments, they apply as well, if not more directly, to the original language of our first gospel as to the pre-canonical Logia. That the Logia which Matthew wrote in Hebrew according to the testimony of Papias, may denote our first gospel has been made quite evident by Dr. Resch's own retranslation of the word into the Hebrew Debarim or Dibre Yeshua. For even if in the text of Papias, Logia could signify a mere collection of sermons or moral precepts, a supposition which we do not admit,[4] the Hebrew term introduced by Resch allows no such restricted meaning. True that if the Hebrew expression were found only in Prov. xxx. 1, xxxi. 1 or Eccles. i. 1, or again in Am. i. 1 and Jer. i. 1, there might be doubt about its applicability to a collection of historical events; but in i. Par. xxix. 29, ii. Par. xii. 15, xx. 34, xxxiii. 18, iii. Kings xi. 41, it is used in the sense "history," so that it can apply to the gospel of Matthew without the slightest inconvenience. Again, the gospel of Matthew must have been regarded by the Hebrew Christians as referring to their new faith and their moral conduct in quite as distinctive a manner as would have been the case with the pre-canonical Logia, had they ever existed; Dr. Gaster's arguments, therefore, apply to our first gospel more clearly than to any non-canonical book. As to the special characteristic of the material which Dr. Resch admits into

[1] Eus., H. E. iii, 39, 16. [2] Cf. Logia, pp. x, f. [3] Cf. The Expository Times, vol. viii, N. 9, June, 1897, p. 395, note 6. [4] Cf. The Gospel according to St. Matthew, p. xvii.

the Logia, it must be kept in mind that the portions of the gospel according to Matthew omitted in the Logia are too insignificant to invalidate Prof. Briggs' and Dr. Resch's proof with regard to our first gospel. In other words, if the portions of our first gospel admitted into the reconstructed Logia demand a Hebrew original, our whole first gospel must have been written in Hebrew. The arguments of modern critics tend therefore to confirm the testimony of Papias. Finally, if Dr. Resch has accomplished the task of translating his reconstructed Logia into Hebrew, Dr. Delitzsch has done the same not only for our first gospel, but for all the books of the New Testament.

Dr. Resch tells us in his next chapter,[1] what are the sources from which, and what the criteria according to which, he has chosen the material admitted into the body of the reconstructed Logia. The main sources are the synoptic gospels, not merely in the form of their so-called received text, but also in that of the oldest manuscripts, translations, and citations; besides, the fourth gospel, the Book of Acts, eleven of the Pauline epistles,[2] three of the Catholic epistles,[3] and the Apocalypse have been utilized; among the extra-canonical sources are the codices Cantabrigiensis, Curetonianus, Syrus Sinaiticus, Diatessaron Arab.,[4] Evangeliarium Hieros., Colbertinus, Bobb. Taur., Sangermanensis, Vercellensis; here belong also the apocryphal sources, the Act. apocr.,[5] Acta Philippi,[6] Acta Pilati,[7] Apocalypsis Esdrae, Evangelium Ps. Petri, Ev. sec. Hebraeos,[8] Logia Iesou,[9] Martyr. Barthol., Oracula Sibyllina, Papyrus Rainer, Pistis Sophia; finally, we are referred to a list of patristic authorities:[10] Agathangelus,[11] Anastasius Sin., Aphraates,[12] Augustin, Barnabas, Cassian, Cassiodorus, Clement of Alexandria, Clement of Rome, the apostolic Constitutions, a dialogue on faith, the Didascalia, the Teaching of the Twelve, Didymus, Ephraem,[13] Epiphanius, Eusebius, Hermas, Hippolytus, Clementine Homilies, Jobius Monachus, Irenaeus, Judicium Petri, Justin, Macarius, Origen, Pamphilus, Pseudo-Cyprian, Pseudo-Jerome, Pseudo-Ignatius, Ptolemaeus, Severus,[14] Tertullian, Tatian, Theophilus, the life of Syncletica, Petrus Comestor, Piers the Plowman, old English Homilies. Thus far we have enumerated Dr. Resch's sources; his criteria according to which the selection of the material is finally made, are more briefly and clearly stated: 1° The main stock of the pre-canonical Logia consists of the matter that is common to our first and third gospel without being found in the second; 2° the

[1] Logia, pp. xii, ff. [2] Rom. i, 11, Cord, Ephes., Phil., Col., i, 11 Thess., i, 11 Tim., Tit. Cf. Logia, p. 229. [3] i, 11 Petr., James. [4] ed. Ciasca. [5] ed. Fabric. [6] ed. Tischend. [7] ed. Tischend. [8] ap. Epiphanium. [9] ed. Grenfell and Hunt. [10] Logia, pp. 231 ff. [11] ed. de Lagarde. [12] ed. Bert. [13] ed. Moesinger, Lamy. [14] On baptismal rites.

material of the other sources is to be admitted or excluded according to its resemblance in language and contents to the language and contents of the foregoing main stock. It is quite clear why the reconstruction is to be accomplished according to these criteria. Both the first and the third synoptist has utilized according to the view of Dr. Resch, the Logia and the gospel of Mark; therefore, where the first evangelist agrees with the third without agreeing with the second, both the first and third must have transcribed the very words of the Logia.

In order to appreciate the foregoing principles at their true value we shall first consider the criteria of discrimination, secondly, the sources, thirdly the practical application of both in the reconstruction of the Logia. To begin with the second criterion, it appears to us unsatisfactory on account of the wide room it leaves for merely subjective views concerning the fitness of the material to be admitted. Resemblance in language would be indefinite enough; but when we may have either the similarity of language or the analogy of material as our guides in the choice of what to admit or to reject in our process of reconstruction, we fear that we shall be left at liberty to adopt or omit any passage we please. All these inconveniences might be borne patiently, at least for want of a better rule, if they were based on a solid principle; but now, their very basis appears to be of sand. The so-called "double tradition" of Matthew and Luke is followed as the standard in the reconstruction of the Logia, because it is supposed to have undoubtedly formed part of the original source. But is it certain, after all, that this original source can be none but the Logia? Do not Matthew and Luke agree to a certain extent in relating the history of the infancy? Still their disagreement is too vital to allow us the hypothesis that both accounts are derived from the Logia. Again, the first gospel contains 1072 verses, the second 677, the third 1152; of these 330-370 are common to the three gospels, 170-180 are common to Mark and Matthew, 50 to Mark and Luke, 230-240 to Matthew and Luke, while 330 are peculiar to Matthew, 68 to Mark, 541 to Luke. It is therefore plain that both Matthew and Luke may have utilized a source, either written or oral, quite distinct from the gospel of Mark and the Logia, at least for the material peculiar to each; and what prevents us from considering these unknown sources as partly identical, and as such causing the so-called double tradition of Matthew and Luke? Our phrase "*may* have utilized" might easily be changed to "*must* have utilized;" but for the present we merely consider the fallacy of Dr. Resch's reasoning: the double tradition of Matthew and Luke cannot be derived from Mark; hence it must be derived from, and therefore must have been contained in, the pre-canonical Logia.

The criteria therefore which guide Dr. Resch in the choice of material to be admitted into the reconstructed Logia, are purely conjectural and do not exclude pure conjecture from the standard of choice. Let us now investigate the character of the sources from which the learned author derives the material for his Logia by the foregoing subjective process. Dr. Resch is evidently right in regarding the synoptic gospels as his primary source, but he is as evidently wrong in the choice of some of the other sources. In proof of our statement we shall confine ourselves to a few general considerations. 1° The cod. Cantabrigiensis, e.g., contains not only the three synoptic gospels, but also the fourth gospel and the Book of Acts; if then its peculiar readings found in the Synoptists are partly, at least, to be explained by deriving them from the Logia, how shall we explain the same peculiarities of reading in the fourth gospel and the Book of Acts? It would lead us too far, were we here to enter into a discussion of the single passages; it must suffice to note that an analogous method of reasoning may be applied to most of the other codices the peculiar readings of which form a source of Dr. Resch's reconstructed Logia. 2° Any one who compares the apocryphal literature with our canonical books, will undoubtedly arrive at the conclusion that the latter give a simpler and therefore an earlier form of the common material; we consider it therefore critically erroneous to regard the apocryphal form as the source of the canonical. And if there be question of material contained only in apocryphal books, we see no good reason for admitting it into the reconstructed source of the synoptic gospels, since we believe that one or another of the evangelists would have recorded these words or deeds of the Lord, if he had found them in his source. 3° Finally, most of the patristic sources employed by Dr. Resch are too late to record independently words and deeds of Jesus Christ; in general it may be maintained that the patristic records are either variations of, or deductions from the canonical history of our Lord, so that they deserve in neither case an unconditional admission into the pre-canonical Logia. Dr. Resch himself appears to have felt the truth of our statement, since in most cases he writes the patristic fragments in parentheses, thus indicating that he admits them rather in order not to omit any possible portion of the original work than to express his firm conviction of their actual presence therein.

Thus far we have reviewed the sources from which Dr. Resch endeavors to reconstruct the pre-canonical Logia, and the criteria according to which he discriminates between material that has formed part of the Logia and material not derived therefrom. It may now be of interest to briefly examine the result at which the

learned author actually arrives. For the sake of clearness we shall consider in order the material chosen by Dr. Resch first from the canonical sources, secondly from the codices, thirdly from the apocrypha, and in the fourth place from the patristic writings. In each section we shall naturally add the expression of our approval or disapproval.

As to the synoptic gospels, it is much easier to give the summary of Dr. Resch's omissions than the list of what he has received into the text of his reconstructed Logia.[1] Hence the following table of omissions: *Mt.* i., ii., iii. 5, 6; iv. 13, 18-25; v. 31; viii. 14-17; ix. 19, 21, 30b, 31; x. 11b; xi. 1, 15; xii. 16-21, 34a, 49; xiii. 14, 15, 35, 49-51, 53, 55, 56, 58; xiv. 1-3a, 5-12a, 23b-36; xv. 29-39; xvi. 5, 7-12, 20; xvii. 7, 9b, 13, 19, 21-27; xviii. 1, 2, 4, 5; xix. 1, 2, 9b-12; xx. 17-19; 29-34; xxi. 4, 5, 10, 11, 14-20, 45, 46; xxii. 6, 7b, 8a, 9b, 10b, 13, 33, 34, 41-46; xxiii. 1-3, 7b, 24, 30, 33; xxiv. 6, 21b, 25, 51b; xxv. 30; xxvi. 5, 30, 32, 48, 59-62; xxvii. 1, 3-10, 12-14, 16, 18, 20, 30, 31a, 34, 36, 42-44, 46b, 49, 53, 55, 56, 62-66; xxviii. 2-4, 6b, 11-15, 17; *Mc.* i. 1, 5, 14b, 16-21, 29-34, 39, 43; ii. 4; iii. 8-12, 14-16a, 20, 21, 23a, 30, 34; iv. 13, 23, 24, 36; v. 6, 8-10, 19, 20, 21b, 24, 26, 28, 29, 35-37, 42-43; vi. 1, 3b, 5-6, 14-16, 19-29, 33, 37b-38a, 40, 46-56; vii. 2-4, 8, 26, 31-37; viii. 1-10, 13-14, 16-26, 30; ix. 6, 9b-10, 13b-18a, 20-34, 36-37a, 38-40, 44-46, 48; x. 1, 3, 10, 32-34, 46-52; xi. 11-14, 16, 19-22; xii. 1a, 11-12, 29, 32-37; xiii. 3, 7, 23, 33b, 34b, 36; xiv, 2, 23b, 26, 28, 44, 46, 49b, 51, 52, 55-60; xv. 1a, 3-5, 7-8, 10-11, 13, 18, 23, 25, 30, 32b, 40-42, 44-45; xvi. 8, 16-18, 20; Lk. iii. 5-6, 18; iv. 14b, 31b-32, 38-41, 44; v. 1-11, 19; vi. 17b-19, 45; vii. 4-6a, 7a, 21; viii. 1-3; 30-31, 38-40, 43b, 49-50, 56; ix. 2b, 4, 7-9, 21, 32, 39, 43-48a, 49-50; x. 4b, 26, 28; xi. 18b, 36; xii. 21, 26, 52; xiii. 10-17, 22; xiv. 3b, 6-7; xvii. 5, 25; xviii. 31-43; xix. 25, 29a, 33-34; xx. 19, 36a, 39-45; xxi. 9, 13, 15, 18, 22, 24a, 25b, 37-38; xxii. 3, 33, 39, 43-45, 48-49, 51, 61b, 65; xxiii. 5-16, 19-20, 22-24, 49b, 54; xxiv. 6b-8, 10-12, 14, 27, 35-40, 44-49.

It follows from this list that according to Dr. Resch about 210 verses of Matthew, about 232 of Mark, and about 148 of the third gospel had no parallel in the Logia; or if we include the history of the infancy, 258 verses of Matthew, and 280 of Luke were unparalleled. Comparing these numbers with the entire sum of verses contained in each of the three gospels, we see that according to Dr. Resch the Logia contained parallels of about 814 verses of Matthew, about 445 verses of Mark, and about 872 verses of Luke; in other words, the Logia contained about 0.66 (nearly 2-3) of Mark, about 0.76 (more than ¾) of Matthew, and about 0.75 (a little more than ¾) of Luke; or if we disregard the history of the infancy, as we have a right to do, the Logia contain about 0.85 of the re-

mainder of Luke, and nearly 0.80 of the remainder of Matthew. In general it may be stated that Dr. Resch's results may account for the agreements of the synoptic gospels, but does not explain their discrepancies in either material or expression. We should indeed be able to understand these discrepancies, if the special end for which each of the synoptic gospels was written required them; but why should Mark, e.g., omit the cure of the centurion's servant,[1] or the exorcism of the blind and dumb devil,[2] or the resuscitation of the widow's son at Naim,[3] if he had the Logia ready to hand? Since the second evangelist represents Jesus as the great thaumaturgus, the foregoing miracles would have been in keeping with the character of his writing. And similarly, there is no good reason why the first evangelist, the recorder of our Lord's words, should have omitted the parables of the seed growing secretly,[4] the two debtors,[5] the Pharisee and the publican,[6] the rich man and Lazarus,[7] if he had known the Logia and the second gospel. Finally, Logia xii 33-36,[8] and xxvii 23,[9] to limit ourselves to only a few particulars, would have well agreed with the scope and aim of Luke; why then are all these passages omitted, if the third evangelist knew both the Logia and the second gospel? The insufficiency of Dr. Resch's Logia to explain the synoptic problem is still further proved, if we consider the discrepancy of the three evangelists in parallel passages. Why should the first and third evangelist have omitted all the minute details of description in which the second gospel abounds? Why should the third evangelist especially prefer to tell in Aramaic idioms, Greek scholar though he was, what he had read in Mark at least, in pure Greek?[10] Finally, if Dr. Resch's explanation of the synoptic genesis be correct, there arises another curious phenomenon that can hardly be ascribed to mere chance. We have already stated that the second gospel contains 677 verses, that 333-370 of these are common to the three synoptists, that of the remainder,[11] 170-180 are common to Mark and Matthew, and about 50 to Mark and Luke, so that only about 68 verses of the second gospel are not made use of by either Matthew or Luke; now it appears almost incredible, unless we admit a previous agreement, that two writers deriving their material from a common third one, should use his work in such a manner as to practically divide it entirely between themselves.

We may now proceed to illustrate the result of Dr. Resch's principles as applied to the codices we have enumerated among his

[1] Mt. viii, 5; Logia, vii, 2-9. [2] Mt. xii, 22; Logia, xv, 4, 5. [3] Lk. vii, 11; Logia, vii, 11-17. [4] Mk. iv, 26-29; Logia viii, 18-20. [5] Mk. xiii, 34. [6] Lk. xviii, 9-14; Logia, xxvi, 1-8. [7] Lk. xvi, 19-31; Logia, xxiii, 30-42. [8] Cf. Mt. xi, 28-30. [9] Cf. Mk. ii, 27. [10] Cf., e. g., Lk. xx, 11 and Mk. xii, 4. [11] About 300 verses.

sources. Here again a most cursory view must suffice; the study of detail would lead us beyond the limits of the present paper. In Logia v. 21, 22, we meet a fragment added in the codex Cantabrigiensis after Lk. vi. 4: "On the same day having seen one working on the Sabbath, he said to him, O man, if indeed thou knowest what thou doest, thou art blessed; but if thou knowest not, thou art cursed, and art a transgressor of the law." It is true that the Greek form of address employed in this interpolation occurs in Lk. xii. 14; the Greek word meaning "cursed" occurs in Jn. vii. 47; and the Greek phrase "transgressor of the law" is an idiom of St. Paul; but on the other hand, the saying does not recur elsewhere, so that we must admit it into the reconstructed Logia on the strength of mere conjecture. It is curious that the passage concerning the adulterous woman[1] also has been admitted into the Logia on the strength of the codex Cantabrigiensis; can we imagine that not one of the synoptists, especially the third evangelist who deals so pre-eminently with works and doctrines of mercy, should have received this touching episode into his gospel, if they had utilized the Logia as their main source? Again, in Logia xxviii. 49, the codex Cantabrigiensis adds to Mt. xx. 28: "But ye seek from little to increase, and that from the greater there be a less." The same interpolation is found in some Syriac,[2] and in many Latin copies; the Latin rendering is variously given: 'Vos autem quaeritis de minimo crescere et de magno minui;' 'vos autem quaeritis de modico crescere et de maximo minui;' 'vos autem quaeritis de pusillo crescere et de maiori minores esse.[3] The peculiar form of the Greek, and the deep meaning of the second clause may be granted to mark the interpolation as based upon traditional words of Jesus; but we believe that with the same degree of probability the passage may be regarded as a mere expansion or application of the words which precede. This latter view is the more probable on account of the addition which in the codex Cantabrigiensis immediately follows the foregoing interpolation, though in the Logia it precedes the same;[4] for here we have admittedly nothing but a new version or variation of Lk. xiv. 8-10. What has been said sufficiently illustrates the character of the material received into the text of the reconstructed Logia on the testimony of the codices. We may draw attention to the risk of error one runs by abandoning the so-called neutral text for the western reading. This is again confirmed by the lately published Oxyrhynchus Papyri,[5] containing in the second place a fragment of the first gospel, Mt. i. 1-9, 12,

[1] Cf. Jn. viii, 1-11. [2] Cu., Pesh., Philox. [3] Cf. Westcott, Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, seventh ed., p. 458. [4] Logia, xxviii, 46-48.

[5] The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part i, edited with translations and notes by Bernard P. Grenfell, M. A., and Arthur S. Hunt, M. A.; Egypt Exploration Fund.

14-20, which in all probability dates from the third century; in ten instances the newly discovered text supports the reading of Westcott and Hort against the commonly received Greek text, in six it differs slightly from both, in only one it differs from the text of Westcott and Hort, while in verse 16 it supports the so-called orthodox reading against that of the Lewisian Syriac. In the light of this support which the conservative critical text finds in the oldest codices, it appears doubly rash to receive into the pre-canonical Logia such readings as are supported by late copies either of the original text or even of translations.

In the next place we must briefly illustrate the parts of the apocryphal writings Dr. Resch has actually received into his reconstructed Logia. In ii. 2-5 we read: "And when he had gone down into the water, and prayed, a fire was kindled in the Jordan, and a great light shone round about the place. And Jesus said to John: Come and baptize me. But he said to him: It is not possible that I seize the booty." For the sources of this passage we are referred to cod. Vercell., Sangerm. and Mat. iii. 15, Ev. sec. Hebr. ap. Epiph. xxx. 13, Just. Dial. 88, Ephraem ed. Moes. p. 42, Sever. de rit. bapt. pp. 24, 25. It may be of interest to see the variations of Vercell. and Sangerm.: "Et cum baptizaretur (Jesus, Sangerm.) lumen ingens (magnum, Sangerm.) circumfulsit (fulgebat, Sangerm.) de aqua, ita ut timerent omnes qui advenerant (qui congregati erant, Sangerm.). Dr. Westcott considers it worthy of remark that in an addition which occurs in another Latin manuscript,[1] a miraculous light is connected with the resurrection:[2] "Subito autem ad horam tertiam tenebrae diei (d. ten.) factae sunt per totum orbem terrae, et descenderunt de caelis angeli, et (surgentes) in claritate vivi Dei simul ascenderunt cum eo, et continuo lux facta est." The addition, whether it be made to the history of the baptism or to that of the resurrection, impresses us as wholly similar to so many other miraculous events told in the apocryphal writings; for in these miracles we find no worthy conception of the laws of providential interference, since most of them are wrought to supply personal wants, or to gratify private feelings, and often are positively objectionable. They are mostly arbitrary displays of power, and promote neither the greater glory of God nor the peace among men upon earth. Another instance of an apocryphal passage received into the pre-canonical Logia may be seen in xxvii. 49: "Behold, my bride-chamber is ready, and happy is he that has a bright garment; for it is he that receives the crown of gladness on his head." We are referred to the Act. Philipp.[3] for this passage; but there is a parallel reference to James i. 12. This last verse reads: "Blessed is the

[1] Bobb., K. [2] Mk. xvi, 4. [3] Ed. Tischend., p. 147.

man that endureth temptation; for when he hath been proved, he shall receive the crown of life, which God hath promised to them that love him." In spite of the discrepancy of the two sentences, it is quite possible that the author of the Act. Philipp. may have paraphrased the words of James by means of set biblical clauses. Finally, to give one more example of an apocryphal passage that has found favor in the eyes of Dr. Resch, we read in Logia xxxv. 59: "These are the names of the twelve apostles whom Jesus chose: John and James, sons of Zebedee, and Simon, and Andrew, and Philip, and Bartholomew, and Thomas, and Jude, and Thaddeus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas Iscariot, and I Matthew.[1] We are indeed referred to Act. i. 13, Mk. iii. 16-19, Lk. vi. 14-16, and Mt. x. 2-4, as to the sources of the reconstructed list; but the order of apostles is so peculiar that the writer can have hardly been copied by the evangelists and the author of Acts. The true source followed in the reconstruction of the Logia appears therefore to be the catalogue of apostles belonging to the Gospel according to the Hebrews and reconstructed from Epiphan. Haer. xxx. 13.[2]

Finally, we add by way of illustration a few verses which Dr. Resch has chosen from the patristic writers. In Logia xvii. 21, we find a passage taken from Origen:[3] "Ask great things, and the small shall be added to you; and ask heavenly things, and the earthly shall be added to you." The words call to mind what we read in Matthew vi. 33. Again, in Logia xxvii. 7, we read another sentence taken from Origen:[4] He who is near me is near the fire; he who is far from me is far from the kingdom." The words are introduced in the patristic source: "Legi alicubi quasi Salvatore dicente, et quaero sive quis personam figuravit Salvatoris, sive in memoriam adduxerit, ac verum sit hoc quod dictum est. Ait autem ipse Salvator. . . " The same sentence is repeated by Didymus in Ps. 88, 8, and a very similar phrase occurs in Ignatius:[5] "Near the sword near to God, in the midst of the sword in the midst of God." Both phrases offer some resemblance to one quoted from the Doctrine of Peter by Gregory Naz.:[6] "The wearied soul is near to God." As our next illustration may serve what we read in Logia xxvii. 39: "In whatsoever I may find you, in this will I also judge you." The words occur first in Justin's Dial. c. Tryph. 47, but they are repeated by Clement of Alexandria,[7] and they remind one of Jn. v. 30; Ezech. xxxiii. 20; xxiv. A slight variation of the saying occurs in Nilus:[8] "Such as I may find thee, I will judge thee, saith the Lord." We give one more passage received by Dr. Resch

[1] Literally, "me Matthew;" the whole series is expressed in the objective case, depending on the verb "choose." [2] Cf. Anaceph. c. 138, A. [3] De Orat. lib. c. 2, 14. [4] Hom. in Jer. xx, 3. [5] Ad. Smym. 4. [6] Epist. i, Ad. Caes. ap. Credn. Beitraege i, 353. [7] Quis dives, 40. [8] Ap. Anast. Sin., Quaest. 3; Anger, p. 207.

from a patristic source into his Logia, xxvii. 50, 51: "The Lord himself having been asked by some one, when his kingdom will come? said: When the two shall be one, and that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female neither male nor female." This mystical saying seems very different in form from the character of our Lord's words; yet it reminds one of Gal. iii. 28: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus." Besides, Clement of Alexandria believes, he says, that the narrative was contained in the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and he repeats it in various shapes.[1] A passage of Pseudo-Linus[2] appears to contain another version of this saying:[3] "Dominus in mysterio dixerat, Si non faceritis dextram sicut sinistram et sinistram sicut dextram et quae sursum sunt sicut deorsum et quae ante sunt sicut retro non cognoscitis regnum Dei." These instances may suffice to show that the fragments of our Lord's sayings and deeds contained in the patristic records without being derived from our canonical writings have to be received with a great deal of discrimination; most of them appear to be mere deductions from the received history or translations from prophecy into history. If, then, Dr. Resch considers himself justified in discriminating between saying and saying, between fact and fact, we believe that his readers will insist on their right also to receive or reject according to their own taste and judgment; while some of the fragments received by Dr. Resch will be rejected, others omitted by the author of the Logia will be received by his readers; among these may be the notices that the mother of the Lord was of the family of David, that the Lord was born in a cave, that the wise men came from Arabia, that the Lord's miracles were attributed to magic, that the ass which his disciples brought for him was found tied to a vine,[4] that the person of the Lord was little and ill-favored and ignoble, and that his mother wrought with her own hands,[5] that John the Baptist (like the moon) had thirty disciples, as our Lord (the sun) had twelve, that the ministry of the Lord began at the spring solstice.[6]

In order to reconstruct the Logia it was not enough to determine upon the sources from which to select the material according to a fixed, though unhappily subjective, criterion, but the compiler had to find a rule that might guide him in the arrangement of his material. Dr. Resch fully recognizes this need,[7] and points out the result of Wendt's attempt in his 'Logia according to Matthew,' a

[1] Strom. III, ix, 63 ff.; xiii, 92. [2] De Passione Petri. [3] Cf. Westcott, Introd. to the study of the Gospels, seventh edition, p. 460; Bunsen, Anal. Ante-Nic., i, p. 31. [4] Justin, Dial, 43, 78, 69. [5] Cels. ap. Orig. c. Cels. vi, 75; i, 28. [6] Clem. Hom. ii, 23; i, 6 f. [7] Logra, pp. xv. ff.

compilation that resembles a heap of interesting ruins, without beginning, without end, without connection. The author confesses that his own work has retained this same desultory character in chapters xxvii and xxviii, but with regard to the rest, he tells us that every chapter consists of clearly defined paragraphs, as the whole work consists of logically arranged chapters, so that both the chapter and the whole work exhibit a literary unity. Notwithstanding this orderly result, Dr. Resch is the first to call his work a mere attempt at the reconstruction of the Logia, though he expresses his conviction that in the important and great portions of the work he has approached the orginal order. The main reason for this hopeful view of his reconstruction is derived from the fact that he has followed the order of the third evangelist in the arrangement of his material. And indeed if we glance at the table of texts received into the Logia from the synoptic gospels,[1] we see that the order of the Logia is not parallel to the texts of Mark, much less to those of Matthew, but agrees with the arrangement of Luke. Here we cannot but express our regret that the learned author has not been more faithful to the principle which he himself had recognized as true. By abandoning the order of the third evangelist he becomes the plaything of his subjective views and tastes. When we come to Luke iii, 4, e. g., the passage is not left in the context of the third evangelist according to which the inspired writer shows the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaias, but is transferred into the preaching of the Baptist as if John had couched his own warning in the words of the prophet "prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight his paths."[2] Again, Luke v, 39, is torn out of its context and placed in Logia xxviii, 54 where it is connected neither with what precedes nor with what follows; in the third gospel the preceding verse, "but new wine must be put into new bottles, and both are preserved," at least suggests the thought contained in the words "and no man drinking old hath presently a mind to new, for he saith, The old is better." Similarly, the catalogue of the apostles inserted by the third evangelist immediately after the choice of the twelve is transferred by Dr. Resch to the very end of his reconstructed Logia[3] where it is given in an apocryphal form rather than in its canonical wording. We might go on indefinitely enumerating passages in the arrangement of which Dr. Resch differs from that of Luke and, practically speaking, always to his own condemnation. But before leaving this point, we must draw the reader's attention to another consideration. According to Dr. Resch, Mark, and Matthew, and Luke had the pre-canonical Logia before them when

[1] Logia, pp. 221-229. [2] Cf. Logia, ii, 24. [3] xxxv, 59.

they wrote their respective gospels; is it possible that Mark, e. g., should have abandoned the true historical order which lay ready made at his hands in order to substitute another arrangement of material that is neither chronological nor topological? And to add another question, is it probable that the author of the second gospel should have deemed it advisable to change the existing pre-canonical Logia to a much worse form rather than endeavor to circulate them as he found them? True, that according to the reconstructed form of Dr. Resch, Mark had to add a number of verses in order to produce the present second gospel; but these additions could have been made to the Logia without disarranging the order so materially.

We have finally to review the process called by Dr. Resch 'the determination of the texts.' Two points are included in this final settlement of the reconstructed form of the Logia: 1. The detail that is to be retained in each verse must be decided upon; 2, the verbal expression must be finally chosen. The former of these problems is solved by means of the codex Cantabrigiensis and the Clementine Homilies especially with regard to extra-canonical material; without repeating here our former line of reasoning, we merely recall the conclusion we reached, that this rule is subjective in itself and leaves room for purely subjective conjecture in its application. The second problem contains again two unknown quantities: first, the Greek text must be settled; secondly, its corresponding Hebrew expressions must be found. Dr. Resch is of opinion that the original Greek expressions may be arrived at, first by investigating whether they anyway approach to the primitive Hebrew idiom; secondly, by eliminating all those elements that appear to have been introduced by the redaction of the evangelists; thirdly, by weighing the remainder according to the literary standard of the double tradition contained in Matthew and Luke. In this work the author professes to have been assisted by the labors of Weiss[1] and Wendt,[2] so that the reconstructed Logia cannot properly be called a pioneer work as far as their Greek form is concerned. But the Hebrew text of the pre-canonical Logia had not thus far been reconstructed by any investigator of the synoptic gospels, though according to the most ancient testimony the work was composed in Hebrew. Dr. Resch would be glad to have it recognised as a first principle that in the study of the Logia the Hebrew or the Aramaic form must be regarded as the supreme standard. The author really deserves all praise for the ease and even elegance of his so-called

[1] Das Marcusevangelium und seine synoptischen Parallelen, Berlin, 1872. DasMatthäusevangelium und seine Lucas-Parallelen, Halle, 1876. [2] Die Lehre Jesu, Erster Theil, Die Evangelischen Quellenberichte über die Lehre Jesu, Göttingen, 1886.

re-translated text; it really breathes the quaint simplicity of the classical Hebrew writers.

Thus far we have seen that the arguments which Dr. Resch advances for the authorship of the Logia, for the time and place of their composition, and for their primitive language apply not only equally well, but apply in very truth only to the authorship of our first gospel, its time and place of origin, and its primitive language; we have seen, moreover, that the standard according to which the material of the Logia has been determined rests on conjecture and leaves ample room for more conjecture; that the standard of arrangement is well enough chosen, but has not been conscientiously followed; that, finally, the criterion determining the detail in each verse and its outward expression is again subjective and allows too much room for personal tastes and literary prejudices. We might have added an explicit proof showing that the Logia of Matthew concerning which Papias testifies are nothing but the present first gospel, and that the whole of Dr. Resch's attempt is a mere chimera; but the opinion that the pre-canonical Logia are something real and historical is nowadays so generally in fashion that the author may be pardoned for conforming to it. But it is a pity, for all that, to have wasted so much earnest work and serious study in attempting the impossible. The only good result of Dr. Resch's publication lies in the fact that he draws the attention of the gospel student, especially of the commentator of Matthew, to the Hebrew phrases or idiom that has been admitted into our gospels in an ill-fitting Greek dress. But it must be remembered that this end had been reached long before the appearance of the reconstructed Logia by Delitzsch's translation of the New Testament into Hebrew.

Thus far our conclusions have been negative, all converging to the common focus that Dr. Resch has failed to solve the synoptic problem; but the attentive reader will have perceived that our negative arguments are not directed against the reconstructed Logia only, but they are valid against every attempt to explain the present form of the synoptic gospels either by their mutual dependence on each other, or by their derivation from common pre-canonical sources, or again by the combination of both methods. For in every conceivable supposition admissible in the foregoing theories, we shall be confronted by the following difficulties: 1, There is no good reason for the later writer to compose a gospel according to his own peculiar form rather than propagate the source or sources he utilized; 2, whatever order of origin may be assigned to the synoptic gospels, the later ones always omit a great deal of what is contained in their reputed source, and no good reason can be assigned for such omissions; 3, whatever form of these theories may

be chosen, we are in any case called upon to suppose a manner of literary work on the part of the synoptists that is wholly foreign to the character of the apostolic age, in which we find no single writer proceeding in the manner in which the evangelists are supposed to have written, turning now to this page of their sources now to another, changing here the expression, mutilating there the thought, and adding in a third place an amplifying phrase of their own conceit; 4, in whatever form the foregoing theories may be admitted, the later writers reproduce in any case certain passages less perfectly than they are contained in their sources, at times lessening their original clearness of expression, and again introducing apparent contradictions which become much more striking to the commentator if the later writer had the text of the earlier evangelist before his eyes. But beside these unavoidable difficulties which must accompany any theory of solution in which pre-existing written sources are admitted, there are certain considerations that show the subjective character of all such attempts. 1, The fact that must be explained is no longer entirely certain on account of the many variations of our present gospel text; on the whole, we may rightly suppose that in several passages the present identity of form at least is due to the work of later transcribers. 2, We have no conception of the manner in which the evangelists made use of their written sources, if indeed they had any; the matter is settled easily enough where we find absolute agreement between the evangelists; but how determine whether the longer or the shorter form of parallel passages was copied from the written source? 3, Suppose that an agreement, however arbitrary, has been reached as to the passages and their verbal expression that have been copied from a written source, how are we to know whether the sum of these passages formed originally only one work, or was divided among several? 4, Suppose again that we have come to an arbitrary consensus as to the unity or the plurality of sources, how can we arrive at any certainty as to the relation of this primitive source to the oral tradition which in any case must have preceded the written document? For we cannot admit Dr. Resch's theory that our Lord's words were written down either at the time of their delivery or shortly after; this view savors too much of our nineteenth century reporter.

Is then the synoptic problem insoluble, and as such to be set aside like the problem of squaring the circle or finding perpetual motion? We believe that it can be solved and has been solved, but only by the theory of oral tradition. In order to meet a difficulty that appears to overwhelm us from the outset, we must premise that we do not deny that our evangelists made use of certain pre-canonical documents, whatever they may have been—the third

evangelist, e. g., appears to testify expressly that he made use of previous documents—but we deny that the present tangle of agreements and disagreements found in the synoptic gospels can be explained by the use of documents; we maintain therefore that if Luke, or Matthew, or Mark, had any pre-canonical documents at hand, the present synoptic problem must be carried back to the problem of the agreements and disagreements of these very documents, and that any transference of the question from the synoptic gospels to the pre-canonical documents is mere shifting of the difficulty, but can never amount to a real solution of the same. In other words, we maintain that in the last instance the synoptic problem can be solved only by recurring to the pre-canonical form of oral tradition.

Having premised this explanation of our position, we may now proceed to give an account of our conviction. We shall first indicate the different steps of our reasoning, and then add references to external and internal evidence rather than develop the several arguments. The first form in which the memory of our Lord's life and teaching was preserved must have been in keeping with the general manner in which the religious thought of the Hebrews was transmitted; now, at the time of Christ, the latter was handed down by way of authentic oral tradition; hence, the first form in which the life of our Lord and his teaching was transmitted must have been that of authentic oral tradition. Again, the authentic oral tradition containing our Lord's life and teaching must have been adapted to three kinds of hearers which had to be taught by the apostles—the first class consisted mainly of Jews, the second mainly of Gentiles, the third was a class mixed of Jews and Gentiles—hence, the authentic oral tradition containing our Lord's life and teaching must have assumed a triple form, one adapted to the conversion of the Jews and to the confirmation of the Jewish converts in the Christian faith; a second, adapted to the conversion of Gentiles and to the instruction of Gentile converts; a third, adapted to convert members of a mixed society or to confirm them in their new faith. Now again, for the Jewish readers the Christian faith had to be proved by its essential connection with the Old Testament, and had to be explained by its relation to the Mosaic Law; for the Gentiles, the Christian faith had to be proved by means of the divine seal imprinted on the life and teaching of our Lord, in other words, by an appeal to signs and miracles; for the mixed society it was of supreme importance to show that Christ's redemption was not intended for the Jew alone, but extends to all classes of men and all ages. Hence, we must assume that the authentic oral tradition though one in its substance must have been threefold in form in

such a manner that one form connected Christianity with Judaism, another proved the truth of Christianity by means of miracles, and a third showed the universality of Christianity. Finally, besides the difference in material contained according to the foregoing reasoning in the threefold form of Christian tradition there must have been a difference in language depending on the principal apostle that used each of the three forms of tradition; hence the threefold authentic oral tradition was differentiated not only by certain peculiarities of material but also by certain characteristics of language. Now, on examining our synoptic gospels we find that they agree substantially in material and in language, but that they differ in both material and expression just as the authentic forms of the oral tradition must have differed from one another; hence we are inclined, almost a priori, to identify our three synoptic gospels with the threefold oral tradition. Lastly, the testimony of the earliest witnesses expressly identifies our synoptic gospels with the foregoing forms of tradition, the first gospel with the tradition of the Jewish church, the second with that of the Gentile church, and the third with that of the church consisting of both Jewish and Gentile converts; hence we are justified in explaining the agreements and the disagreements existing in our synoptic gospels by their origin from the different forms of the authentic oral tradition existing in the early church.

We do not think that it needs much of a proof to show that the memory of religious facts and doctrine was preserved in the early church just as it was preserved among the Jews. It suffices to call to mind that the earliest Christian community consisted of Jewish converts, and that they had received no instruction from our Lord to change the manner of teaching or recording.[1] That the Jewish manner of preserving and teaching religious doctrine was that of authentic oral tradition has been well shown by Schürer;[2] after proving that teaching was in the Rabbinic schools identical with repeating, so much so that "doctrine" is simply called "repetition," he concludes that a pupil had only two duties: one was to keep everything faithfully in memory, and the second, never to teach anything otherwise than it had been delivered to him, confining himself even to the verbal expressions of his teacher, so that it was the highest praise of a pupil to be "like a well lined with lime which loses not one drop."[3] The first conclusion according to which the Christian body of religious truth must have been embodied in an authentic oral tradition is confirmed by what we read in Act vi, 1-6 concerning the earliest ministry of the apostles; again, by Lk. i 4,

[1] Cf. Mt. x, 5 ff.; xxviii, 20; Mk. xvi, 13; Act. i, 8; Jn. xv, 27; xvi, 12 ff.; xvii, 18 ff., etc.
[2] The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, div. ii, vol. i, p. 324 f. [3] Cf. Aboth, ii, 8;

where the evangelist according to our version says "in which thou hast been instructed," while the Greek original term signifies "in which thou hast been catechised" or instructed orally. We need not suppose that the whole body of Christian tradition was delivered to the catechumens before their baptism; in point of fact, the earliest apostolic instructions left us[1] touch mainly upon the death and resurrection of our Lord, apparently supposing the body of Christ's history and doctrine to be known to the audience. But after the reception of the catechumen he must have been instructed more thoroughly in Christian doctrine, and it appears to be this instruction that Luke refers to as to the catechism which Theophilus had been taught. Finally, the epistles of St. Paul suppose that his converts had passed even beyond this stage of knowledge, since they address readers well versed in the mysteries of our faith.

Our next statement according to which the oral tradition had to be adapted in form to the three main classes of hearers evangelized by the apostles, i. e., the Hebrews, the Gentiles, and the mixture of both, hardly needs further confirmation. Common sense would have directed the apostle not to address the Gentiles, e. g., as he addressed the Jew; and the guidance of the Holy Ghost must have rendered this principle much more evident. It is also plain that the Jews were not first taught to abandon Judaism, and only after this induced to embrace Christianity; but their ancient faith had to be a stepping stone to the doctrine of Christ so that the apostles must connect their preaching with the prophecies as well as with the laws of the Old Testament. On the other hand, it would have been a long process to convert the Gentile first to Judaism and then to Christianity; in order to lead them to the true faith the evidence had to be such as to prove without having to rely on the knowledge and truth of the Old Testament, in other words, it had to appeal to miracles. In the case of the mixed audience the evangelist had to announce the new creed on the basis of Judaism indeed, but of a Judaism denationalized, and extending its hopes and promises to all nations. Moreover, it is evident that the verbal expression of this threefold catechism varied according to the character of the principal apostle teaching it and according to the material contained therein.

That the material of the three synoptic gospels differs according

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Gfrörer, Das Jahrh. des Heils, i, 168-173; we may compare with this also what Max Müller tells us concerning the oral tradition of the Rig Veda, with the statement of Dionysius of Halicarn. (ed. Reiske, tom. vii, p. 819) concerning the Greek "logographers" anterior to Herodotus, with the Homeric rhapsodists, with the Arab preservation of their poetry before the time of Mohammed, and finally with the daily practice of certain Russian Jews reciting even to-day the whole psalter from memory.

[1] Cf. Act. ii, 14; iii, 12 ff.; v, 30 ff.; xiii, 28 ff.; x, 34 ff.; xvii, 22 ff.; xxvi, 2 ff.

to the character of the three catechetical traditions is well known to every Bible reader; while the first gospel connects Christianity with the Old Testament and explains its relation to the Mosaic Law, the second gospel insists on the miraculous power of our Lord and exhibits him as the omnipotent Lord of heaven and earth, and the third represents our Saviour as the God of mercy who receives the Jew and the Gentile alike, who does not discriminate between the rich and the poor, between the old and the young, between the just and the sinner. But the verbal expression too differs just as one would expect that one account of an oral tradition should differ from another. Thus there is greater agreement in the mere report of the words of our Lord or of other speakers, but greater disagreement in the narrative portions, and in the transitions from part to part; while on the whole the same order is kept in the historical parts, there occur stilistic unevennesses that would be unpardonable in the transcriber of a written source. Again, certain minor elements are transposed and even scattered about in the parallel passages, which cannot have been the result of a common borrowing from the same written document. Finally, we may compare parallel passages of the synoptic gospels with certain variations of passages quoted from memory in the Book of Acts: thus Peter's vision is told twice,[1] and the history of St. Paul's conversion is repeated three times.[2] Now, on the one hand, these repetitions are recited from memory just as the oral tradition of the synoptists had to be recorded; and on the other, the variations of language and material in these repetitions are wholly similar to the variations of parallel passages in the synoptic gospels. The latter, therefore, are rightly attributed to the fact that our synoptic gospels were written down from memory.

Finally, the authority of ancient writers upholds our view that the synoptic gospels are nothing but the written records of the preaching of St. Paul, of St. Peter, and of St. Matthew. Eusebius[3] has preserved the words of Irenaeus according to which "Luke who had accompanied Paul, gathered together in his book the gospel preached by the latter." The same Eusebius[4] testifies concerning the first gospel: "Matthew, having first preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go also to others, delivered to them his gospel written in their native language, and thus compensated those from whom he was departing for the want of his presence by the writing." Papias[5] says about our second gospel: "This also the presbyter (John) used to say: Mark, having become Peter's interpreter, wrote accurately all that he remembered . . . who (Peter) used to

[1] Act. x, 10 and xi, 15. [2] Act. ix, 2; xxii, 5; xxvi, 12. [3] H. E. v, 8. [4] H. E. iii, 24. [5] Cf. Eus. H. E. iii, 39.

frame his teaching to meet the wants" (of his hearers). Besides, the second gospel is identified with Peter's preaching by Irenaeus,[1] Tertullian,[2] Clement of Alexandria,[3] Origen,[4] and Eusebius;[5] so that our synoptic problem has been unwittingly solved even by the earliest patristic writers.

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SPAIN'S LEGACY TO MEXICO.

THAT broadening and liberalizing effect upon character and opinions which extensive travel confers in the vast majority of cases ought to be felt and reflected upon popular sentiment in the United States more than anywhere else perhaps, because its wealthy citizens are remarkable for their love of foreign travel. Nevertheless the insularity of notions and prejudices which is found flourishing here is perfectly astonishing. In regard to South America particularly, the misconceptions which prevail are almost as erroneous as the geography of the ages when the Pillars of Hercules and Ultima Thule were regarded as the bounds of a flat world. In the time of the English Commonwealth it was a vulgar belief that the people of Ireland were a lower sort of bipeds whose inferiority in the natural order was indicated by the fact of the spinal vertebræ terminating in a tail like a quadruped's. The author of a new book on Mexico happily quotes the historic fact of a Washington statesman gasping out in amazement when he first saw the capital city, "Why, they have houses!" He expected, no doubt, to find the people living either in tepees, "dug-outs," or pigeon-boxes up in the cliffs, in the manner of the early aborigines. The same state of misconception with regard to Mexico exists largely to-day, despite the fact that the facilities for reaching the country are quite equal to those offered for reaching California or Canada. The few people who go from the United States there are unfortunately, also, so unsympathetic and ingrained with hereditary antipathy and narrowness in regard to races whose language and ethnic peculiarities are strange, that they fail to be impressed with anything save the most superficial appearances and climatic and scenic features of their pilgrimage. We, ourselves, quite re-

[1] Haer. III, 1, 1. [2] Adv. Marc. iv, 5. [3] Eus. H. E. ii, 15; vi, 14. [4] Eus. H. E. vi, 25; ii, 15. [5] H. E. ii, 15; Dem. Ev. iii, 5.

cently heard the most astonishing things stated about Mexico and its people by a newly-returned lecturer, and accepted as truth, evidently, by a large audience, because some of these statements tallied entirely with the tales of popular superstition and ignorance, and ecclesiastical tyranny to which they had been accustomed all their lives. We could heartily wish for the sake of international amity, that Mr. Lummis's book on Mexico, called "The Awakening of a Nation," could be put into every family and every school house in the United States, for nothing could be more serviceable in the way of removing ridiculous misapprehensions and modifying that prevalent self-consciousness which by a long course of careful cultivation has induced the belief that there is no improvement possible on American methods in anything whatsoever. Nothing,—unless the author's own recommendations could be made compulsory in the national curriculum. These consist of two things—a course of travel for all adults, and a knowledge of the language of the country one is going to speak about, ere anything regarding the place be printed.

Mr. Lummis's book is not a philosophic study. It is more an economical and social one. A Boston Protestant, he has been brought into contact for a good many years with a civilization as novel to his earlier experience as that of a new planet. And not only a civilization but a national character. There is a temperament in Mexico, distinctive and all-pervading, and imparting an elevating ideal, as in the case of the ancient Hellenes. Living in a land of beauty, the sweetness of the surroundings has saturated the soul of the people, and reflected itself in the general character. Contentment, urbanity, good-nature, politeness even to the beggars and among beggars, are the external marks of the whole Mexican people. The hard side of life, the only one present to the New England mind, is unseen or unfelt there. That felicitous blending of the poetic and the artistic which religion wrought among the Latin races pervades the land and the people. Spain's wonderful civilization has impressed itself upon the country so deeply as to be practically ineffaceable. To say that anything good could have come from Spain would have been a brief while ago to make oneself unpopular. But the good which this Boston traveller has found from it, for all that, appears to have staggered him. He makes honest confession of his surprise, and the decided inferiority of the Anglo-Saxon method, as perceptible in the United States. As he is a very keen observer, and has noted a multiplicity of facts bearing on the material condition of the country, in the past no less than the present, his work must be immensely serviceable to any writer who goes there with a view to a more compre-

hensive and exalted study of the lessons of Spanish conquest and failure, as illustrated in the case of Mexico, than that of the writer of this remarkable book.

Although Mr. Lummis is not a Catholic, he is confronted by such phenomena in the present state of Mexico, and in the history of her development, that he confesses to the potency of the Church in the moulding of that delightful civilization and its influence upon the national temperament. It was the Church which changed the conqueror into the assimilator. Where the Anglo-Saxon exterminated, because he was devoid of moral restraint, the Spaniard conciliated and won over and formed blood-ties with. That he did so was entirely owing, as we all know, to the irresistible suasion of the Church. But it is a rare thing to find those of the other civilization and the other religion confessing it—at least so frankly as this author.

Literature and art came hand in hand with Spanish supremacy—instantly came, one might say. With the Anglo-Saxon colonists it was the very reverse. These polite luxuries never entered into the dreams of the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers until they had cleared the woods of Indians and timber. And do we not know that it was because of the Church that this was so? In Spain these handmaidens of the Church were never sundered. The Pagan Renaissance made little impression there. Had it been English Puritans who settled in Mexico, literature and art would still be conspicuous by their absence—Mexicans, too, in all human probability.

If Mr. Lummis had any aim in his book beyond that of furnishing a valuable contribution to the sum of useful knowledge, it would appear to be that of justifying the secularistic movement begun in Mexico shortly after our own war with that country. The President, Porfirio Diaz, whose policy is the refinement and completion of that system, is to him a hero. And yet the author agrees that the process may be harmful if carried out to its fullest extreme. Catholics, he finds, have far less "rope" in Mexico than in what he calls the "Protestant" United States. No religious processions are allowed; a priest cannot even appear in the streets in sacerdotal garments. This severity he considers a justifiable reaction against the former absolutism of the Church, but he pronounces the reaction no less a tyranny that cannot logically much longer last. There are signs of a better spirit, such as the expression of a desire that the Sisters of Charity may be allowed to return to Mexico; and he hopes this may be realized. "Those," he says, "who have seen the Yellow Death when it walks a city of the tropics, who have seen men fall rotting by the curb, deserted by brother and

mother, but picked up by these daughters of God—aye, and has himself felt their tender mercy upon his broken shell—such a one will hope for Mexico thus much alleviation of its severity." But he may be over-sanguine. The Freemason incubus is not so easily shaken off. It holds the countries of Latin civilization in a grip of iron, and its emissaries are pastmasters in the art of smothering or overruling the popular will.

Mexico's progress, ever since Diaz took the helm, has been phenomenal, as Mr. Lummis very lucidly and indeed convincingly demonstrates. This progress is, in his view, the result of the secularization system, known as the Reforma, and the whole administration being in the hands of one man with clear views of what is best for the country and the power as well as the resolution to carry out his policy. Mexico is prosperous, in other words, according to the author's belief, because of the suppression of the Church. It is also his view that one of the reasons of its prosperity is a silver currency. Many will say "bah!" to the latter theory who will smile with approval at the former. The one will appear a paradox; the other a self-evident proposition.

But what must appear to the thoughtful man as really paradoxical in the general argument is the admiration of the writer for a beneficent depotism in the case of a man—for such, indeed, President Diaz's rule seems to be in reality—and his disapproval of an absolutism, as he styles it, that worked out such astonishing results, as he admits, as the Catholic Church of Mexico did. The introduction of religion was followed by the introduction of the arts, of literature, of hospitals, schools for the Indians, of a social system as wide as the whole land and as generous as the soil and the climate of that richest of all lands in this respect. The system was an institution of permanency, made to last down the ages, as long as the people should endure; the individual despot has only a transient existence. Does it not strike the writer that this man of wonderful mind is the product and the natural outcome of that system which is stigmatized as tyrannical? Mexico did not spring at once into existence like Minerva, full-panoplied. She is the sum of successive waves of Spanish genius, statesmanship, and philanthropy. The lines of her civilization, originally laid broad and deep on foundations of wisdom and piety, have been strengthened and extended by the process of natural sequence. Were the materials not ready to his hand, Diaz never could have constructed the edifice alone. And the great architect of the edifice was, as Mr. Lummis tacitly admits, the now persecuted Church. Speaking of the readiness of the Spaniards to intermingle with native races, he remarks significantly, "The *conquistador* was human,

but the hand of the Church was always upon his shoulder." Everywhere he went he married into the native races, under this salutary compulsion, and the Spanish character is thus stamped unmistakably to-day upon forty millions of people, and transmitted with more fidelity from one generation to another than among any other people save perhaps the Jews.

We cannot conceive of any more inconsistent line of argument than that which rests upon the efficacy of secularism as the chief factor in progress. Had that principle been in operation when Mexico was discovered, we are entitled to speculate where would its civilization be now. There is no initiatory force in secularism. It is only a principle of accommodation—a huckster's endeavor to strike a bargain between intellect and selfishness. Deep piety was a distinguishing mark of some at least of the first conquerors. Although Cortez is execrated by American historians for his cruelty, his first great act was to found a hospital in Mexico. Mr. Lummis says: "On the street of Ixtapalapa, by whose causeway he first entered town, in 1519, he built in 1527 the Hospital of the Clean Conception of Jesus, endowing it with an hacienda in Cuernavaca. For three hundred and seventy years it has been doing its work of mercy; and to-day its appointments are up to date with accommodations and lovely environment for seventy-five patients of both sexes. It is still controlled by the descendants of Cortez."

Mr. Lummis is very frank in following the line of thought suggested by this initial act of the Conquerors. "No other nation," he observes, "has founded so extensively such beneficences in its colonies, and few colonies have built so well upon their inheritance. It is a useful Delsartean attitude for the mind to try to 'fahncy' England peppering New England with schools, hospitals, asylums, and churches for Indians. But that is what infamous Spain did, three hundred years ago, up and down a space which measures something over *one hundred and three New Englands*. We may pick flaws in these institutions as administered while we were hanging witches, but the institutions were there—and are there yet."

Some of the hospitals, by the way, are of colossal proportions. The Royal Hospital of Mexico (for Indians), founded in 1553, covered three and a half acres. Nearly nine thousand patients were crowded into it in the year 1762, during a great epidemic. A couple of other great hospitals date their foundation nearly as far back.

Humanity, next to the salvation of souls, was the first consideration, it will thus be seen, with the execrated Spaniards. Where the greed of the commercial speculator sought to enslave the Indian, the religious orders stepped in to defend him, and under the shadow of the Cross set up the hospital to minister to his bodily ailments.

When the torch of learning was lighted, that intellect might be tended as well as soul and body, Mr. Lummis shows the picture of the house, still standing in the heart of the city, where the first printing press was set up in the New World. The date was the year 1536, and the man who caused it to be set up, one of those dreadful Spanish ecclesiastics, apostles of superstition and darkness, Bishop Zumarraga. Not until a hundred and two years later was there a printing press in any part of New England. Music was struck off at this press as early as 1584, and the first newspaper of the New World was the *Mercúrio Volante*, which was started in Mexico in 1693. It is commonly supposed that the industrial school is an invention of our modern and superior civilization. Mr. Lummis recalls our attention to the fact that industrial schools *for Indians* were founded by the Spaniards in Mexico as early as the year 1543. The ordinary schools antedated these by nearly a decade. In 1524 Father Pedro de Sante threw open the doors of the first of these in the same city. Thus, within a couple of years after the city fell into the hands of Cortez, the Indians whom the horrible Aztecs would have been butchering in hundreds on the altars of the great pyramidal teocalli, as a sacrifice to the God Huitzilopochtli, were being taught the religion of the God of Peace and the ways of peaceful industry. The Indians were saved and educated, to be citizens all, remarks Mr. Lummis, "and among them important scholars, great engineers, and sometimes presidents of a republic. To grasp just how much this means of contrast between the methods of the noble Saxon and the brutal Spaniard, we need only fancy ourselves electing Tecumseh or Red Cloud or Osceola to be president of the United States. We might also hunt up the churches that we have built for our aborigines while Mexico was building thousands. And we might even ponder upon the 250,000 Indians left of our millions, while it is a proved fact that the Indian population, not only of Mexico but of Spanish America by-and-large, is greater to-day than at the conquest—and incomparably better off."

Perfect equality between the races is the rule in all Spanish America. "The Man and the Brother," remarks Mr. Lummis, "has far greater rights than in the United States. In the Pullman car, the first-class hotel, the theatre, and anywhere else, he is just as good as any one." And why? Because, he answers, "human slavery was never a divine institution in those colonies. While this statement may derive a shriek from those who have learned history by not studying it, it is strictly true."

As the moral condition of a people is the one great test of its past, we take the institutions which publicly indicate that condition

as the proper criteria. The orphanage, perhaps, ought to be placed at the head of the list. Paganism was ignorant of orphanage and hospital; these, next to the Church, are the distinctive social marks of Christianity. The public orphanage, says Mr. Lummis, is found in every city in Mexico. An orphan babe can find a home on the first day of its life. There is no infanticide "in any degree" in the country. This, he says, is " a civilized invention" wholly unknown in Spanish America. And what is the cause of this remarkable ignorance? In his closing chapter, dealing with the unmistakable race characteristics impressed by Spanish civilization, the author has this to say of the spirituality of the Hispano-American type of beauty:

"To no woman on earth is religion a more vital, ever-present, all-pervading actuality; and that is why you meet the face of the Madonna almost literally at every corner of Spanish America. And it is not a superficial thing. There is none in whom the wife-heart, the mother-heart is truer-womanly. The doña is human. She may err, but she can never be gross. It is a truth so well known to every traveller that I wonder to find our philosophers so dumb about it—that even when an outcast no woman of Spanish blood falls or can fall to the utter vileness which haunts the purlieus of every English-speaking great city. And, thanks to her religion and to her social conservatism, she contributes, perhaps, fewer recruits to the outcast ranks than any other civilized woman."

Virtue is the first foundation of a nation's greatness; hence when we hear our Gradgrinds declaiming about the Anglo-Saxon claim to predominance let us apply this test to his argument and look around at the results of his rule and tradition. Infanticide "in every degree" is the first hideous trade-mark; the trampling out of inferior races the next; the divorce court competes with these monsters of civilization for pre-eminence in evil. This triple-headed Cerberus guards the gate of Anglo-Saxon civilization; the influence of religion and the high ideals of womanhood which follow in its train have kept the Spanish colonies free from their contamination.

Hospitals, emblems of the charity of Christianity, abound in Mexico. Not only those already noted in the capital, but in all the other chief cities. The Spaniard was no sooner planted in the country than he established hospitals for the sick and infirm. He did it, as he did everything else, on a magnificent scale. Nor did he forget the insane, the blind, the deaf and dumb. So far back as the year 1803 the City of Mexico alone, with a population of only 140,000, had hospital accommodation amounting to eleven hundred beds. It is now completing a general hospital consisting of thirty-

five separate buildings, whose cost will be eight hundred thousand dollars.

Architecture, learning, education and humanity were the gifts which Spain all at once brought to Mexico. It did not take, as with us, decades and even centuries to establish these; they came almost at the very beginning. The land was quickly dotted with gems of architecture—and some of them immense gems—the beautiful lines and exquisite semi-Moorish ornamentation of many of which still entrance the poet and the painter and the sculptor. It was not the cathedral alone, but the convent and the monastery on which was lavished the imagination and the taste of the Spanish architect. In their venerable softness many of those old convents seem to-day like an antiquarian's dream, so lovely are they in their quaint design and reposeful massiveness—combinations of that elegant lightness and assured durability which the Moors left to Spain to temper the Gothic and the Byzantine. Many of the convents and monasteries are now used as prisons and barracks—a result of the *Reforma.* Humboldt described Mexico as "a city of palaces." There is nothing to parallel its architecture, says Mr. Lummis. And the same beauty of structure is visible in Puebla, Guanajuato, Chapultepec, and many other places.

The university, the printing-press, the public school came to Mexico right in the wake of Spanish conquest. They came to supplant a spurious civilization with which one is almost tempted to sympathize when it is presented by writers like Prescott. The Aztec system, with all its picturesqueness, was a horrible wholesale Moloch cult, demanding hecatombs of victims for its great festivals. What mattered it that the victims were feasted and decked with flowers and gorgeous robes and feathers before the day of doom? The blood flowed in torrents down the slopes of the great sacrificial pyramid, and the butchery of the victims by the so-called priests, carried on from morn till nightfall on great occasions, was accompanied by details which make the reader's blood run cold. If we allowed ourselves to be carried away by the pictures of those writers who hate the name of Spain we should be found deploring the fate which overtook the empire of Montezuma and objurgating the advent of a system which, in the course of a little more than a century, covered a territory of five thousand miles' stretch with churches, schools, courts of justice, aqueducts, and roads so splendid as to form the wonder and delight of the traveller of to-day, and so serviceable to their respective localities as to need but little impulse from the spirit of modern improvement to place them on an equality with the most progressive of modern centres. We doubt if any parallel can be found for such colonization, in either ancient or modern experience.

Attention was recently attracted to the subject of Protestant proselytizing in Mexico by a tale no less silly than malicious about "raffles for souls," started by a zealous missionary in Puebla—a resurrected fable. Mr. Lummis recalls, in this connection, the story of Protestant failure in a manner very creditable to his own sense of decency and propriety. In illustrating the vices and virtues of the early bonanza-kings of Mexico, he mentions the case of Don Manuel Correa, who, having won eighteen thousand dollars one night at cards, gave the sum with seven thousand more to the Convent of San Augustin, at Zacatecas. Another bonanza-king, Avala, at his own cost, built the present Church and Convent, and when the *Reforma* came these beautiful edifices were coolly taken by the government and sold to the highest bidder. The Church was bought by the Presbyterians for twenty-five thousand dollars—"possibly one-sixth of its value," remarks Mr. Lummis—and converted to their uses in 1882. His opinion regarding these missionary enterprises is frankly expressed: "The American missions to 'convert' Mexicans from one Christian Church to another meet a notable tolerance in Mexico, considering their errand, and maintain small congregations of the lower class, who attend for motives not wholly unselfish or religious."

Much credit is given the government of modern Mexico for its efforts to diffuse the benefits of education. But it must be owned that it had the advantage of a sure foundation whereon to build up a system. Since Mr. Lummis wrote his book we have had a new work by one who can speak still more authoritatively, Señor Romero, long the representative of Mexico at Washington. A large portion of his book is devoted to a survey of the condition of education in the country, in the past as well as in the present, and we gain from the writing a picture of wise and broad-minded statesmanship in that particular field which, we believe, no other nation could boast of. Señor Romero recalls the fact that only eight years after the conquest there was established in the city of Mexico the College of San Juan de Letran for giving secondary education to intelligent Indians as well as to the sons of the invading race. A university was founded in 1553, that is to say, eighty-three years before Harvard College was opened. In 1573 were started the colleges of San Gregorio and San Ildefonso, the latter still extant, but converted into the National Preparatory School. Long before the seventeenth century had dawned two more colleges and a divinity school were organized, so that, within sixty-five years after the landing of Cortez, no fewer than seven seats of the higher learning had been created in New Spain. In 1578 a first chair of medicine was established in the University of Mexico; twenty-one years later, a

second medical professorship was founded: in 1661 facilities for the study of anatomy and surgery were added, and, subsequently, dissection was authorized. In 1768 a royal college for surgeons was organized in the City of Mexico on the pattern of the institutions existing in Cadiz and Barcelona. Amid the disturbances that followed the attainment of independence the educational establishments suffered, but since 1857 there have been but few interruptions to the encouragement which they have received from the Federal Government. It is not, of course, true to-day as it was in 1804, when Humboldt made the statement, that "no city of the New World, not excepting those of the United States, presents scientific establishments so great and solid as those of the capital of Mexico." There is no doubt, nevertheless, that the Mexican School of Mines and Engineering is the best in Spanish America; it is lodged in a magnificent edifice which cost $3,000,000. The National College of Medicine is housed in the old Palace of the Inquisition. The Normal School for Males, which has 600 pupils, occupies the Convent of Santa Teresa. The Normal School for Females accommodates 1,400 pupils. At the Manual Training School of San Lorenzo, started in 1598, poor boys are taught, gratuitously, engraving, lithography, printing, carpentry and many other trades. There is a similar institution for girls dating from 1874. The building occupied by the establishment named Collegio de la Paz, but better known as the Vizcainas, cost $2,000,000 in 1734; it is devoted to the education of young women. On the grounds of Chapultepec is a high-grade military academy. There are also in the Federal capital a National Academy of Art and a National Conservatory of Music. The National Library, comprising 200,000 volumes, is housed in the sequestrated Church of San Augustin. The National Museum occupies part of the building erected in 1731 at a cost of $1,000,000 for the Royal Mint.

Señor Romero was an official; he may have been, for all we know, one of those who succeeded in getting religion stricken out of the schools in a land where ninety-five per cent. of the people belong to the Catholic Church. Mr. Lummis is a Protestant traveller, having no particularly strong leanings toward the claims of Catholicism, yet confessing that the Church has been cheated and plundered shamefully by this myterious brotherhood. But neither from the work of Mr. Lummis nor of Señor Romero would be reading world be led to believe that the Church did anything but acquiesce tamely in the banishment of religion from the public schools, or made any effort to frustrate the audacious design to tear the Mexican nation away from God. No greater mistake could be made. Against the sacrileges begun under the dictator-

ship of Juarez, it struggled strenuously but ineffectually, for the public mind was unbalanced by civil war, and military supremacy was the decisive factor in all public problems. Under Juarez Mexico witnessed what England witnessed under Henry VIII. Robber hands were laid upon the temporals of the Church; the splendid convents and monasteries were seized and their pious inmates driven out as though they were criminals. The secular school system came, when the spoliation was complete, to cap the climax of impiety. When this iniquitous measure was first mooted the bishops and clergy held meetings in protest, and their action was followed by the heads of families throughout the country. Monster petitions were presented to Congress, but that body was as potters' clay in the hands of the Freemason chiefs—men who occupied much the same position as the American political "boss" to the "machine." Perceiving the futility of their efforts to avert the calamity the bishops took measures to mitigate, as best they could, its disastrous effects. They determined to organize parochial schools, just as the American bishops have done, and these parochial schools ramify all over the country and are doing all they can, although hampered—and here the Mexican rule shows itself spiteful and mean in comparison with the American—in every possible way in their work by vexatious State meddling. The ignoring of what is being done by the bishops and clergy of Mexico in the way of educating the people looks singularly suspicious.

Still we are making some progress. In the fact that neither of these authorities has attempted the task of vilifying the Church and the clergy who made Mexican civilization the splendid thing it is to-day we ought to find, perhaps, cause for thankfulness, considering the way in which the ground had been prepared for the cultivation of a false judgment. Turning back to the Report of our own Commissioner of Education for 1895-96, vol. I., we find embodied in it a paper, by "F. F. Hilder," purporting to be a survey of the condition and historical development of education in Mexico and Central America, which not only also omits any reference to the work of the parochial schools but is literally bristling with rancor and calumny against the despoiled Church and those splendid and venerable institutions of learning and piety which even in their decadence and desecration wring rapturous tributes of admiration from Mr. Lummis. We may charitably conclude that the writer, whether man or woman, was never in the country which he or she undertook to picture from its educational side, and was merely writing from a handbook or statistical report. At the very outset of this report—the only one accessible to the American public for a considerable time, it should be remembered—the animus of the writer breaks out:

"In the construction of their constitutions the United States and Mexico made grievous errors, which in both instances came near destroying the Governments. The United States guaranteed slavery and made religion free. Mexico abolished slavery but restricted the right of worship to a single sect. Both of these errors have been rectified, but by a fearful expenditure of blood and treasure, and in the case of Mexico by the prolongation of her exhausting struggle for freedom."

If the Catholic Church come within this writer's definition of a sect, one must be curious to know what would be defined as a religion. We are justified in concluding that any sort of religion is obnoxious to such minds, since the supremacy of the State in everything is what is insisted on:

"It is to the credit of the statesmen who have directed the career of the country in its heroic struggle for liberty that they have always recognized the fact that popular education is one of the primary functions in the life of the State; that no republican form of government can exist without it, and that the question of the education of its citizens is one which concerns the life and permanence of the State. They saw clearly that it was a question for the State, and one that could not be left to a church or a parent to decide; that the Republic must claim the right to educate its citizens, not only from a humanitarian point of view, but to preserve its integrity and existence."

Still there are some strange flaws in the bill of indictment against the ancient system. The overthrow of the rule of Spain is found not to have been an unmixed blessing:

"In spite of all the unrest and turmoil of the years which followed the downfall of the Spanish power in Mexico, the attention of the Government was directed toward the question of education. The first law on the subject, which was compiled by Don Jose Louis Mora, during the presidency of Gen. Antonio Lopez de Santa-Anna, was promulgated in October, 1833. It was based upon advanced and liberal principles, and contained an excellent plan of study for use in the public schools. It, however, contained also a provision authorizing the appropriation of some real estate belonging to the church to provide the necessary funds. The clergy were excluded from taking any part in public education maintained at the expense of the Government, and the ancient Clerical University was suppressed."

Notwithstanding the advanced and liberal principles of this government, we read later on:

"In 1855 this insupportable tyranny [Santa Anna's government] was overthrown and a constitutional republic was established, one

of the first acts of which was to restore the educational law of 1843. In April, 1861, when Don Ignacio Ramirez was minister of justice, he obtained the passage of another law on the subject, which was one of the most liberal that had been promulgated, and true to the spirit of the law of 1833,"

That the old Spanish system was not altogether a rotten tree that deserved to be cut down may be gleaned from this suggestive paragraph in F. F. Hilder's synopsis:

"La Paz College owes its origin to the benevolence of a few wealthy gentlemen, and was founded in the year 1734 as a house of refuge and school for poor girls and a shelter for poor and invalid Spanish widows. During the colonial period it was under the direct patronage of the King of Spain and was governed by the rector and congregation of Aranzazu. This confraternity was suppressed, together with all similar religious organizations, by the law passed in June, 1879, and the management of the college and its property was assumed by the National Government. In reorganizing the institution the Government has preserved, as nearly as possible, the rules and arrangements established by the founders."

It was thoughtful to take over the principle of the institution when the larceny of its material property was perpetrated. But the charity which prompted the foundation of the old system was beyond the grasp of the spoilers. The State has no soul.

We believe that it is not through mere ignorance that such writers pass over what the Church, plundered and manacled though she be in Mexico, is doing for the education of the people. Truth cannot be altogether hidden away. Mr. David A. Wells, a Protestant gentleman, published a book on Mexico ten or a dozen years ago, in which he wrote:

"The Catholic Church is giving much attention to popular education. It is said to be acting upon the principle of immediately establishing two schools whenever in a given locality the government or any of the Protestant denominations establish one."

About five years ago the Rev. Kenelm Vaughan, brother of the cardinal, made an extensive tour of Mexico and on his return published in the *Catholic World* a statement of the position of Catholic education in the republic. In the City of Mexico he found that the bishops and clergy were much hampered in their work, owing to the jealous supervision of the government, but in the provinces they had a freer hand. The funds raised yearly in the capital for the support of Catholic education, he said, is approximately about $150,000. This money is collected in the parish churches, where alms-boxes are placed with this superscription: "Para las Escuelas Parroquiales." Besides public subscriptions, collected in this and

various other ways, private donations are yearly contributed for Catholic educational purposes. The late archbishop devoted $60,000 yearly in supporting free Catholic schools of his own, besides distributing annually $17,000 among poorer schools of this city.

He gives the following details of the expenditure of these and similar funds elsewhere:

There are fourteen parishes in Mexico city; ten of them are provided with two or more parish schools. As a rule these schools are poor, deficient in space, and not up to the mark. They are also generally located in an out-of-the-way place in the outskirts of the city, where rooms for schools are hired at a cheaper rate. The boys who cannot find room there have to attend the official schools. In that case the parish priests assemble them every Wednesday, Saturday, and Sunday in their respective parish churches, where they receive religious instruction.

Then there are the schools of the Sagrada Mitra—namely, those that depend entirely on the archbishop. These are eight in number, and are scattered over the city. They are attended each of them by about 200 to 250 boys. Señor Cervantes de Silva, the inspector of the Mitra schools, kindly took me to visit them. And all that met my eyes and ears gave evidence of the aptitude of the teachers, the proficiency of the boys, and the order and discipline of these schools. Indeed they are in a flourishing condition, and leave nothing to be desired.

Again, there are eight schools supported by the "Sociedad Católica," which is presided over by Sr. Joaquin Araoz, and as many schools again maintained by the "Sociedad Guadalupana." The Ladies of the Sacred Heart have also founded a large poor-school in the vicinity of the city, which they teach themselves.

Lastly, there are schools which are the creation of individual charity. For instance, Padre Plancarte, of Labastida, nephew of the late archbishop, has founded and supports with his own large inherited fortune three poor schools where 590 boys and girls are taught, and three orphanages where 410 orphan girls receive a lasting home, and an education based upon religious instruction and handiwork. But these establishments are not all in the city. There are besides 70 free schools or more, and there are over 152 pay schools of private enterprise. At every turn in the city you come across a house bearing a notice like the following over its door: "Instituto Católico." The principal high colleges are those conducted by Señores Soto, Bernardo Duran, Grosso, Villagran, and Echeagary; and the principal high-school for girls is the one conducted by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. Though many of these

pay colleges for boys follow a high standard of studies, yet a superior college for higher studies is much needed, and great hopes are entertained that the Jesuits may be induced to start such an institution. At present Catholic young men, wishing to graduate as engineers, lawyers, or doctors, have to offer themselves for examination in the national high-schools where the infidel philosophy of such men as Herbert Spencer, Stuart Mill, and Augustus Comté is taught, and where professors spend more time in teaching positivism and whatever is contrary to Catholic doctrine than in teaching science. The consequence is that Catholic young men who are trained in Catholic philosophy are invariably plucked; for bigoted hatred of Catholicity among official examiners seems to override all sentiments of justice and fair play.

The number of children attending Catholic schools in this city, I calculate, is approximately about 16,390.

But Catholic schools are more numerous and better organized in the interior of Mexico than in the capital, as I have had occasion to witness. In Guadalajara, for instance, there are five parishes, and each of them is provided with large parish schools for boys and girls, which are controlled by a Board of Directors. Besides there is a flourishing seminary in that city, a college for jurisprudence founded by the "Sociedad Católica," and a Catholic lyceum, each of these establishments having upwards of 500 students. Morella is also well supplied with facilities for Catholic education in having four free schools, attended by 500 boys; and one attended by 80 girls. They have also a magnificent college where young girls graduate as teachers, which contains 1,500 pupils. There is also an academy for a higher course of studies, where young men enter to prepare themselves for the church, for law, for medicine, and for commerce. It contains about 500 students.

Again, in Tobasco, the poorest diocese in Mexico, there are 28 parish schools, thanks to the indefatigable labors of its Oratorian bishop. In these provincial cities and towns the Catholic schools are more numerously attended than are the national schools. And their standard of secular teaching is superior.

There must be a very successful conspiracy of silence maintained in good working order in Mexico when such extensive work as this could elude the observation of an observer so keen and so long acquainted with the country as Mr. Lummis. We may say frankly that we believe if he knew of it he would not suppress the fact, for only in one passage in his book do we find anything seriously objectionable as regards Catholicity, and this is the doubt he throws on the miraculous picture of Our Lady of Guadaloupe, which he endeavors to dispose of in a way which will not bear scientific test.

A similar conspiracy has succeeded in keeping the American public misinformed hitherto regarding Mexico. It did not need to have taken definite form as a conspiracy to be effectual; its action as a cloaker of the truth may be regarded as automatic. Broadly speaking two classes of Americans, says Mr. Lummis, invade the country. One class proceeds upon what he calls the "pickhandle" policy—"if one of these blanked dagos does not comprehend or is a trifle slow, why fetch him one over the head with the nearest club. This is the way to get respect among the —— heathen." The other class play the fox. It proceeds on the assumption that those who do not speak English must be dishonest; therefore to succeed in business it is necessary to "fix" them. In both classes, he adds, "it is equally etiquette to blacken the virtue of the women, the courage of the men, and the brains of the race, loudly and in all companies." If he had added that heaping obloquy on the Church was also a usual part of the procedure, he would have given the true finishing touch to the picture.

What sort of a monument the much-abused Spaniard has erected for himself in Mexico may be approximately measured from one of the final passages in Mr. Lummis' highly interesting book:

"It is a curious fact that no other nation in history has ever legitimately produced crosses with so many aborginal bloods as has Spain. The *conquistador* was human; but the hand of the Church was always upon his shoulder. Individually and casually he might elude it, but broadly he could not. He intermarried with a thousand distinct types of the original American; and all the way from Denver to Valparaiso you can tally the varying fruits of these first wedlocks of the first frontier. You are often in doubt as to the mother, distinct as tribe originally is from tribe; but the father—you need no directory to find him. Among these Mestizos are some of the finest types, physically, of Spanish America."

The production of Mr. Lummis' book was not fortunate in point of time. Just when it appeared the war with Spain broke out, and anything that reflected credit in any way on that country was unpalatable. Now that the "unpleasantness" has terminated, it may be hoped that it will attract the wide attention it deserves. If it does not tell all the truth, it evidently tells all it knows; and that is very, very much.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

ROSARY SOCIETIES.—THE *UBI PRIMUM.*

AT no time since the institution of the Church by our Blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, were the benefits accruing to the members of mutual benevolent societies better understood by the members or more assiduously sought after than in our day. Wise men join these societies for their business interests, shrewd men see in them a means for social and political advancement, and all men recognize in them a potent instrumentality for good or evil. These are self-evident truths needing no demonstration, and patent to the view of all men of judgment and experience. Hence societies of this kind are constantly increasing in membership, and new ones are daily coming into existence, because their benevolent features are becoming better understood and appreciated. In fact, this may be called preëminently the age of such societies secret and public, and unfortunately for the age, there are more of these societies narrow, secret, close corporations, than broad, charitable humanitarian institutions.

This animadversion cannot be cast at the Rosary Society, called the Confraternity of the Most Holy Rosary. Membership in this Confraternity is as easily attained as membership in the Catholic Church itself. No one is excluded from its membership because of age, health, rank, race, or color. No signs, grasps, or passwords are needed or employed. To be a Catholic is the one necessary condition for eligibility to membership. And when we come to consider the special advantages of membership in this Confraternity we find ourselves confronted with the almost inexplicable incongruity of the age, that very many millions of Catholics have not yet applied for membership in the very best mutual benefit organization of the age in which we live. The object of the Confraternity is to bring down upon its members the special blessings of Almighty God, and the special protection of her who was chosen from all eternity to be the Mother of God, of her who in time became the Mother of God—the King of kings—of her who was His queen, to whom He was "subject."

This Confraternity was first erected in the early part of the thirteenth century by St. Dominic at the inspiration of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in her honor, as the special vessel of holiness and grace chosen by Almighty God to bear to her race that grace and forgiveness purchased by her Divine Son at the price of His precious blood.

The obligation of membership imposes a very light burden—the recitation of the entire rosary at least once a week, and during the verbal recitation of the fifteenth decades, mental meditation on the mysteries commemorated.

In the first part of the rosary which ought to be said by daily recitants on Mondays and Thursdays, and the Sundays from the first Sunday of Advent to the first Sunday of Lent there are commemorated the mysteries of the "Annunciation" to Mary that she was to become the mother of the long awaited promised Messiah; the "Visitation" of Mary to her cousin St. Elizabeth at which St. John the Baptist was cleansed from original sin, and otherwise gifted with extraordinary graces to fit him for his office of precursor; the "Nativity" in a stable at Bethlehem, announced to the shepherds by the angel as "tidings of great joy," and as a message of "peace to men of good will" from God Himself; the "Presentation" where the infant Saviour is presented in the temple to His heavenly Father, as the first fruits of the human race, and as a most worthy and acceptable offering even to God Himself; and the "Finding in the temple," where the Child, as the universal doctor and teacher, is found instructing the doctors of the old law and expounding for them the ancient prophecies which were obscurity to them but light to Him.

In the second part which ought to be said on Tuesdays and Fridays and the Sundays of Lent are commemorated the mysteries of the passion; the "Agony in the Garden," where the special wrath of God was poured forth in divine measure upon our Saviour, as the voluntary vicar of sinners; the "Scourging at the Pillar," in which the unjust judgment of men was wreaked upon him; the "Crowning with Thorns," in which all the usurpations and tyrannies of power are expiated; the "Carriage of the Cross" by the guiltless for the guilty; the "Crucifixion" for a "plentiful redemption."

In the third part, which is recited on Wednesdays and Saturdays throughout the year, and on the Sundays from Easter to the first Sunday of Advent are commemorated the mysteries of the "Resurrection of Christ"—the proof of His divinity, the accomplishment of His promises, the victory for men over death and hell; the "Ascension of Christ," His glorified divine body triumphing over the natural laws of gravitation, respiration, etc., ascending by His own divine power in an unconceivably happy re-union with His glorified divine soul to the right hand of the Father to be our Almighty advocate forever; the "Descent of the Holy Ghost" according to the promise of our Blessed Lord, to be the guide and comforter of His church even to the consummation of the world; the "Assumption" of the Blessed Virgin Mary, body and soul re-united,

into Heaven, the first exercise of Christ's power of resurrecting the dead, and assuming the faithful into His everlasting kingdom; and the "Coronation" of the Blessed Virgin in Heaven, as the queen of angels and men, thereby receiving before the general resurrection, assumption, and coronation of the rest of the faithful that "crown of justice" which the apostle assures us is laid up for all good and faithful Christians.

The meditations on the mysteries of the Rosary sweep over a field wide and profound as eternity itself, and give ample latitude to the brightest as well as the least gifted intellects. The meditations on these mysteries are replete with simplicity to the simple and with profundity to the profound. No devotion can excite so sensibly phantasms for the operation of the intellect,—pictures which are better calculated to fix the mind in a lengthened examination of them than the Holy Rosary. Many of these pictures have been transferred by painters to the walls of convents, and to canvas as the very best specimens of art that have ever been produced. They can be multiplied indefinitely in the imagination of the devout and intelligent rosarian, because of the depth of the mysteries, the history of the incidents related about them in the Gospel, the traditions of the early Fathers of the Church, and the analogies drawn from the old testament. Is there one of these mysteries that is not brimful of the infinite goodness and infinite mercy of God, conspiring together, as it were, to find a complete remedy for the satisfaction and immutability of His infinite justice in regard to the sins of mankind?

The due fulfilment of the obligation of membership in the Rosary Confraternity means not only the saying of those prayers which are most pleasing to Almighty God;—the Lord's Prayer which was composed by our Blessed Lord Himself; the Hail Mary which was the salutation of the Father by the mouth of His ambassador; the Holy Mary which was the prayer of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus enlightened, guided and directed by the Holy Spirit; and the doxology which is a most pleasing prayer and benediction to the Blessed Trinity when it wells up from the sincere, loving hearts of the faithful; but in addition the mind is continually and fruitfully occupied without intermission or distractions on the pictures presented to it by holy and devout meditation on the sublime mysteries which it commemorates.

Here we have the powers of the body and soul engaged in the service of God—the tongue working like Martha, the mind contemplating like Mary. This devotion must be pleasing to God, honorable to the Blessed Virgin whom God was pleased to ally so closely with our redemption, and whom He delights to honor and

see honored, and fruitful of graces and blessings temporal and eternal to those who practise it regularly.

All members share with each other the inestimable gifts granted by Almighty God—the bountiful Giver of every good and perfect gift—in answer to humble and persevering prayer. "Whatsoever you shall ask in prayer, if you ask with faith, that is with confidence in God, you shall obtain it." The prayer of the sinner is however an "abomination to God," and while there are tens of thousands of saintly men and women in this Confraternity, there are perhaps hundreds of thousands sinful men and women. The former rejoice when God in His goodness in answer to their prayers grants the grace of repentance to sinners, while the latter on the other hand rejoice in freedom from the intolerable yoke of sin. Here is a mutual benefit to the members of this Confraternity to which no temporal advantage bears any comparison whatsoever.

Again, to encourage the devotion and seal its unqualified approbation thereof, the church through its supreme pontiffs has granted to members so many indulgences that they seem to be unknown, overlooked, or even despised because so few attempt to obtain them. This treatment of the pardon of the temporal punishment actually due to sin cannot but be slighting and offensive to God who in His infinite goodness and generosity gave to His church the most liberal power of "loosing" from this temporal punishment. The Church too grants this pardon on the most liberal terms to members of this Confraternity. When the law of the land has been violated and temporal punishment imposed what resources are left unemployed to obtain pardon? God and His church, fulfilling His divine will, offers pardon to sinners on repentance and the fulfilment of the easiest possible conditions, and His pardon either is not asked or is positively rejected. No wonder that so many temporal evils befall men. No wonder that the evils of our day are so grievous. Eternal justice must be satisfied, and pardon must be sought by the offender in the manner that He has thought fit to lay down, and from the pardoning power that He has established upon earth.

The terms are easy and simple to members of the Rosary Confraternity: a good Confession and a worthy Communion together with some short prayers for the Pope's intention will obtain for rosarians plenary indulgences on the Feasts of our Lord, the first and fourth Sundays of the month, all of the principal feasts of the Blessed Virgin, all of the feasts of the mysteries of the rosary, and on the feasts of the Dominican Saints. For the recital of a third part of the rosary in the church of the Confraternity, or in the chapel of the rosary, or in any part of the church where the altar of the rosary can be seen fifty years of indulgences once a day.

When we look over the long list of indulgences, plenary and partial, in the Racolta which had been granted to this devotion by pope after pope we are amazed at the profuse liberality with which the church has opened the treasuries of her beneficence to rosarians and proffered to them freedom from the ancient canonical penances so rigorously exacted for sin. Moreover, the recital of very many other prayers and the performance of the corporal and spiritual works of mercy are specially indulgenced for them when they carry their beads with them during the recitation of these prayers and their performance of these good works. More than one plenary indulgence can be gained on the same day. For instance, the rosarian who on the first Sunday of the month approaches the sacraments worthily and says some prayers for the Pope's intention and thereby gains a plenary indulgence, may gain another plenary indulgence by visiting a chapel or altar of the Rosary Confraternity, and still another by attending the Rosary procession, and these indulgences are all applicable to the holy souls in purgatory.

To be rosarians their names must be inscribed in the register of the Confraternity kept by the priors of Dominican convents or by the directors of the Confraternity appointed by letters patent from the Master General of the Dominicans, and their beads must be blessed by a Dominican priest, or a priest who has obtained the necessary faculties from the Master General of the Dominicans.

The Holy Father, Leo XIII, moved by his all absorbing charity for the faithful, and desirous that they should obtain all those concessions which the church holds out to rosarians, and knowing the special favors and glorious triumphs which Almighty God has vouchsafed to grant in answer to the devout practice of this form of prayer called the Rosary in which vocal and mental prayer are so felicitously conjoined, again draws our attention to the laws, rights, and privileges of the Confraternity of the holy Rosary in the Constitution, *Ubi Primum*, which he has just promulgated. This constitution clearly leaves no ground of dispute regarding the future establishment of the confraternities of the Rosary, and fixes once and for all the proper authority from whom the canonical erection of a Rosary confraternity should emanate. In the second declaration of the constitution His Holiness says: "The Order of Dominicans which from its very beginning has been most devoted in honoring the Blessed Virgin and by which the institution and propagation of the confraternity of the most Holy Rosary was accomplished holds, as it were, by an hereditary right all that belongs to this devotion. "To the Master-General of the Dominicans alone, then, let there be the right of instituting sodalities of the most Holy Rosary. When he is absent from Rome let this right devolve upon his Vicar-General;

and in the case of the death or removal from office of the Master-General, the right belongs to the Vicar-General of the Order. Wherefore whatever sodality may be hereafter established cannot enjoy any of the benefits, privileges and indulgences with which the Roman Pontiffs have enriched the lawful and true confraternity of the Rosary, unless a diploma of institution be obtained from the Master-General, or the aforesaid Vicars."

The proof of the first paragraph of this declaration was found in the review of the history of the establishment and propagation of the devotion to the Rosary. It is by no means a new or startling announcement; it is a matter of history that St. Dominic and his Order preached the Rosary devotion from the very foundation of the Order. By the preaching and practice of this devotion one hundred thousand Albigenses obtained the grace of abjuring their heresises and returning to the sheep-fold of Christ.

St. Dominic established the confraternity, and his children cherished and promoted it until on the fifth of May, 1258, the reigning pontiff Alexander IV, in his bull "Splendor Paternae," recognized and indulgenced it. For one hundred and fifty years it prospered and numerous are the admonitions and directions given by the Masters-General and general chapters of the Order in regard to the intrinsic work and propagation of the devotion.

Not only are these internal documents of the Order extant but also the testimony of such authorities as Benedict XIII in the lessons of the second nocturn of the feast of the most Holy Rosary; Pius V in his bull "Consueverunt" 17th of September, 1569; Benedict XIV in his work "On the Beatification of the Servants of God and the Canonization of the Beatified." Father Thomas Alamachia, a very renowned author, in his "Annals" treats of the wars of the Albingenses, and the final victory of Simon De Montfort over the Count of Toulouse, which the former attributed to St. Dominic and the prayer of the Rosary rather than to the valor of his insignificant forces. The same author describes the origin and progress of this Confraternity under the Order of Preachers until it embraced in an incredibly short space of time most of the countries of Europe. Very many other writers give corroboratory testimony, such as Prosper Lambertini, Thomas Leonardi, etc.

From 1350 to 1460 the Confraternity lapsed on account of the temporary decline of the Order, but it was again renovated, in the end of the fifteenth century, chiefly by the exertions of the Blessed Alan of the Order, and received new vigor after the battle of Lepanto, universally attributed to the Rosary and the institution of the feast of the holy Rosary on the first Sunday of October, and it is expected that a fresh impetus will be given to this grand devotion in

the end of the 19th century by the prisoner of the Vatican, who occupies the stand on the watch-tower of Israel. Moreover the two hundred and fifty bulls, encyclicals, briefs of the Roman Pontiffs, and decrees and decisions of the Roman congregations all sufficiently attest the historical truth of this declaration of fact by our present Pontiff.

In the second paragraph of this declaration his Holiness, following in the footsteps of his distinguished predecessors, Julius III, *Sincerae Devotionis*, 24 Aug., 1551; St. Pius V, *Inter Desiderabilia*, 29 June, 1569; Paulus V, *Vivae Vocis Oraculo*, 18 Sept., 1608; Paulus V, *Cum Olim*, 20 Sept., 1608; Alexander VII, *decreto S. C. Rituum*, 9 Apr., 1661; Innocent XI, *Nuper Pro Parte*, 31 July, 1679; Benedict XIII, *Pretiosus*, 26 May, 1727; Benedict XIV, *decreto S. C. Indulg.*, 26 Aug., 1747, and Pius IX, *decreto S. C. Indulg.*, 11 Apr., 1864; gives to the Master-General of the Order of Preachers the sole right to erect these Confraternities; and every sodality to be erected in connection with any church for the future must have obtained the necessary diploma of institution from the Master-General of the Dominicans, or his Vicar in his absence, or the Vicar-General of the Order in case of his death or removal from office.

For several years some confraternities of the Rosary were erected by some of the bishops in missionary countries without recourse to the Master-General, and these, though they never had the extraordinary indulgences apostolically granted to the members of the ancient confraternity, are nevertheless gratuitously and charitably sustained and enriched by his Holiness for the space of one year in the third declaration, which says: "Whatever sodalities of the most holy Rosary have been instituted in the past and are in existence to this day without the letters patent of the Master-General, must within the space of one year from this date (1st Oct., 1898) obtain the aforesaid document. In the meantime, however, provided they labor under no other defect, we, by our apostolic authority graciously declare, that the sodalities, until such time as their diplomas are sent, are to be considered as sanctioned and lawful, and as participating in all the privileges, benefits, and indulgences of the confraternity of the most holy Rosary." Our Holy Father gives these specially erected sodalities *in articulo mortis* all the last rights until their sanction is procured through the designated channel. The attention of these sodalities need scarcely be drawn to the fulfilment of the necessary condition for their perpetuation, nor to the wisdom of the Holy See in the appointment of one authority for the unification of all the branches of the confraternity.

In the fourth declaration the process of erection is treated: "For

the erection of the confraternity in any particular church, the Master-General is to depute by the usual document a priest of his own Order; where there are no convents of Dominican fathers, he is to appoint a priest approved of by the bishop: but he cannot in general, and without limitation, transfer the faculties which he possesses to the provincials of his own or any other order or institute."

"We revoke the faculty granted by Benedict XIII, of happy memory to the Masters of the Order, of delegating provincials beyond the sea (*transmarinos*) without restriction. We grant, however, considering it expedient that they may give, power to the priors, vicars and superiors of missions, in such provinces, to erect a certain number of sodalities of which the latter must render to them (the Masters-General) an accurate account."

In order better and more fully to understand the first paragraph of this declaration it may not be inappropriate to explain here the usual process of the erection of this confraternity. The priest in charge of the particular church in which the confraternity is to be erected ought to explain fully to his people beforehand the devotion of the Rosary, and the privileges, benefits, and indulgences of the confraternity. He should in the next place obtain the approval of his bishop for its erection in his church. He then applies to the Master-General of the Dominican Order, or to the Provincial in our country, to obtain the diploma of institution for the erection of the confraternity, in which the patron saint of the church, and the diocese are to be named, as also the name and office (pastor or curate) of the future director of the confraternity. He should also ask the Master-General of the Provincial to send a Dominican father to erect the confraternity; or if this cannot be conveniently done, he should name some priest acceptable to the bishop, who may be empowered to erect the confraternity. The patent of erection when obtained from the master-general or the provincial is sent to the bishop of the diocese together with the list of the indulgences which the master-general is now preparing in accordance with the instructions given in the XVI declaration of this constitution, and the particular statutes which may be enacted by any particular branch of the confraternity under the VII declaration of this constitution that all may receive the approval of the ordinary. A day is then appointed for the erection of the confraternity, and in the meantime the people are prepared by sermons and instructions on the Rosary for the worthy reception of the confraternity in their midst. A representation of Our Blessed Lady giving the Rosary to St. Dominic for the Rosary altar and a book for the registration of members have to be provided beforehand. On the day of erection the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary are to be recited publicly in the

church at convenient hours. Before the mass on the day of erection the hymn *Veni Creator* is sung, and the father who is to erect the confraternity preaches to the people on the objects of the confraternity, its excellence, efficacy, dignity, rights, prerogatives and indulgences. Then the *Ave Maris Stella* is sung, during which the father puts on the cope and proceeds with the attendants to the altar which is to be dedicated to the Rosary of the B. V. M., where, standing at the gospel corner, and turning towards the people he erects the confraternity with the proper form: "I, ——, by authority committed by the very reverend father N——, prior provincial of the province of N——, of the Order of Preachers, in the name of the most reverend Father N——, Master-General of the holy Order of Preachers, institute and erect the confraternity of the most holy Rosary of Mary the Virgin Mother of God, in this church of St. N——, and declare it instituted and erected, with all the graces, privileges and indulgences which societies are accustomed to possess and enjoy; to the praise and glory of Almighty God, of Blessed Mary ever Virgin, Queen of the most holy Rosary and of blessed Dominic our Father, the author and inventor of the same, and of all the saints of God; for the salvation of souls; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." After this is read aloud to the people, the father declares the privileged altar, the chapel of the confraternity, director, etc., and the mass proceeds as usual. In the afternoon or evening a second sermon is given on the Rosary, at the termination of which those who wish to join the confraternity arrange themselves in an orderly and decorous manner around the altar, with their names legibly written on cards which they hold in their hands and afterwards give to the father for registration in the confraternity register. They also hold up their Rosary beads while the father recites the proper form for imparting the blessing and indulgences to these beads, and sprinkles them with holy water. Then the first procession of the Rosary confraternity is formed and the Rosary is recited in common. The Blessed Sacrament is next exposed for benediction at which the *Te Deum* is sung. Then the pastor says three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys, first for the Pope; second for the Master-General of the Dominican Order; third for the Father who erected the confraternity. Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament concludes the impressive ceremony.

In the fifth declaration is stated where the confraternity may be erected:

"The confraternity of the Rosary may be established in any church or public oratory to which the faithful have free access, except the churches of nuns and other pious women living in community, as the holy Roman Congregations have frequently declared.

"Seeing that it has already been decided by the Apostolic See that more than one sodality of the most Holy Rosary must not exist in one and the same place, we again enforce this law and command that it be everywhere observed. If, however, at present it happens that there are several sodalities properly constituted in any one place, the Master-General of the Order has authority to decide the matter in whatever manner he thinks just. In large cities, as has been already granted, there may be several sodalities of the Rosary; these for their lawful institution must be proposed by the ordinary through the Master-General."

By a rescript of the sacred congregation of Indulgences approved by his Holiness on the 20th of May, 1896, it was graciously conceded to the ordinaries of the place in accordance with their discretion and prudence and the convenience of the distance to dispense with the constitution *Quaecumque* of Clement VIII, forbidding the erection of more than one confraternity in one city, town or place. In the present constitution *Ubi primum*, in order the better to preserve both the integrity of the confraternity and the authority and rights of the Master-General of the Order, his Holiness re-establishes the former mode of erection of confraternities to exactly respond to his desire for the multiplication of sodalities in large cities because of the inestimable good they accomplish, and at the same time preserve intact the unity of the confraternity in all its essential features, and therefore he sanctions his former permission for the establishment of more than one confraternity in large cities, and at the same time imposes an obligation on the prudence and discretion of ordinaries in proposing their institution, and on the zeal, fervor and equity of the Masters-General in their erection. The privilege of erecting confraternities of the most holy Rosary was first confined to the Master-General of the Dominicans by St. Pius V in the constitution *Inter Desiderabilia*, 28 June, 1569. This privilege for the erection of confraternities of the most holy Rosary embraced both the fact of erecting and the mode of erection. The fact of erection has never been questioned but the mode of erecting has undergone changes which may be here mentioned.

From the year 1470 up to the beginning of the 17th century, the Masters-General deputed fathers of their own Order or other priests not of their Order who were designated by *name* in the faculties, and who could by such right of deputation erect confraternities in any place which seemed expedient. From the beginning of the 17th century until 1854 in the faculties for erection the *place* of erection was determined in the authentic document, and the personal faculties to individuals were no longer in vogue, and new faculties were required for each particular case. From 1854 and up to the

decree of the S. C. of Indulg. of 1896, the Master-General gave to the provincials of the Order a certain number of authentic documents for the erection of the confraternity in which the provincials were to insert both the *name* of the deputy and the *place* of erection. Since 1896 the faculties must contain the *name* of the deputy and of the *place* inserted therein by the Master-General himself, except in case of a certain definite number privileged by the special grant in the IV declaration of this constitution. In all cases, however, a document called the verbal process of the erection of the confraternity must be drawn up, attested and preserved—one copy in the archives of the parish, and another has to be transmitted to the Master-General of the Order either directly by the rector or indirectly through the provincials.

"The Supreme Pontiff next makes the following ordinance:

"Since there is no chief confraternity of the most Holy Rosary to which the other lesser sodalities are aggregated, it follows that each new association of the Rosary by its own canonical institution enjoys all the benefits, indulgences and privileges which are granted by the Apostolic See to the other sodalities of the Rosary throughout the world. This association adheres to the church in which it is instituted; for although the privileges of the sodality belong to the members, yet many indulgences granted to those visiting its chapel or altar, as also the privileged altar, are inherent to the place, and therefore cannot be taken from it, nor transferred without a special apostolic indult. Wherever, therefore, the sodality is for any reason to be transferred to another church, a new document for that purpose must be applied for to the Master-General. If, however, the church is destroyed and a new church is erected under the same title in the same site, or in the vicinity, to this, inasmuch as it may be considered the same place, all the privileges and indulgences are transferred and the institution of a new sodality is not required. But if in any place, after the sodality has been canonically instituted in a church, a convent with a church of the Order of Preachers be erected, the sodality as a matter of right is transferred to the church belonging to that convent; but if in any exceptional case it may seem advisable to depart from this rule we grant authority to the Master-General of the Order to arrange the matter according to his own discretion and prudence, maintaining in its integrity the right of his Order.

"In the canonical erection of a confraternity of the Most Holy Rosary the Father deputed for its institution always makes these declarations: 'Whenever it shall happen that the Fathers of the Order of Preachers shall obtain a church in this city or place, this confraternity, both by law and fact, without further declaration, and

all appertaining to it, shall be transferred entirely to the church of the Fathers of the said Order unless a dispensation be obtained to the contrary.

" 'The Most Reverend Master-General of the Order of Preachers reserves to himself the right of suppressing this confraternity, erected by me in his name, if the members should neglect or contemn its statutes and rules thereof, which may God avert.' "

Pope Gregory XIV in his constitution, *Apostolicae servitutis* 25 Sept., 1591, recognizes and declares this right of the Master-General to suppress as well as institute confraternities of the Most Holy Rosary. In fact the right of the Master-General to the institution and suppression of any sodality of the confraternity of the Most Holy Rosary has never been seriously called in question by any canonist, and is only declared anew by his Holiness in this constitution, and the action in several exceptional cases in regard to the transfer of sodalities is greatly strengthened by the support of this canon.

In the seventh declaration the privilege is conceded to each sodality to frame its own special statutes if it so desire, but these statutes must have the approbation of the bishop of the diocese, and remain subject to his authority, as was sanctioned in the *Quaecumque* of Clement VIII.

In the eighth declaration the appointment of directors who are to enroll the members of the confraternity, bless Rosary beads, and discharge all the principal duties connected with the sodality, is declared to belong to the Master-General of the Order with the consent of the ordinary of the place in the case of churches under the charge of the secular clergy. The director is appointed by the Master-General in the verbal process of erection, and the declaration of his appointment is made at the time of its erection, by the Father instituting the confraternity. Where the director named by the Master-General or his successors in office is wanting, the bishop can confer the necessary faculties on the pastor in accordance with the power granted in the rescript of the S. C. of Indulg. 8th of Jan., 1861. But, as regards the future, his Holiness has graciously deigned to grant to the ordinaries of the place the power to freely designate as may seem to them expedient in the Lord pastors *pro tempore* as rectors, moderators, etc., of confraternities.

In the ninth declaration the Master-General is empowered to grant to the director of a sodality the power of sub-delegating, not in general, but in individual cases, to another approved priest his own powers and rights over the sodality as often as for any reasonable cause he deems it expedient.

In the tenth declaration the Master-General is empowered to ap-

point other priests in places where the sodality of the Rosary and its director cannot be instituted, to take the names of the faithful who are desirous of gaining the indulgences, for enrollment in the nearest sodality and to bless their beads.

In the eleventh declaration the usual form given in the appendix of the Roman Ritual for blessing Rosary beads is directed to be retained.

In the twelfth declaration the reception of members into the confraternity is treated, and the more solemn reception on the first Sunday of each month, and on the principal feasts of the Mother of God is strongly commended.

The thirteenth declaration says: "The only obligation imposed on the members of the confraternity, which does not however, bind under sin, is to recite once in each week the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary, devoutly meditating on them. But the true form of the Rosary beads must be used, so that they should always be composed of five, ten, or fifteen decades—other beads should not be called by the name of Rosary. In meditating on the mysteries of our Redemption other mysteries should not be substituted for those in general use. The Apostolic See has already decreed that those who do not observe the usual order in meditating on the mysteries do not gain the indulgences of the Rosary.

"The directors of the Confraternities will diligently take care to have the Rosary publicly recited at the altar of the Confraternity daily, or as frequently as possible, especially on the feasts of the Blessed Virgin.

Mental prayer or meditation on the mystery, the vocal prayers of which are recited at the time, has always to accompany these vocal prayers in order to gain the indulgences of the Rosary, as has been decreed by St. Pius V in the *Consueverunt*, and again declared by the S. C. of Indulg. in the decree of the 13th Aug., 1726, which was sanctioned by Benedict XIII. In the fourth paragraph of the *Pretiosus* of Benedict XIII, dated 26th May, 1727, however, the following concession is granted: "For the consolation of persons truly unenlightened and incapable of meditating on the divine mysteries comprehended in the Holy Rosary, we declare that such persons by a devout and pious recitation of the Rosary are able to gain all the aforesaid indulgences conceded only to those meditating on these mysteries; nevertheless we clearly wish that they would become accustomed to meditating upon these same most holy mysteries of our Redemption in accordance with the purposes of the Rosary."

In a decree of the S. C. of Indulg. dated 28 Jan., 1842, it is affirmed that for idiots who have no capacity for meditating on

such mysteries the devout recitation of the Rosary alone suffices for obtaining the indulgences. The *Ubi Primum* makes no innovation in these cases and only declares against those who introduce meditations on other mysteries, which may be very excellent in themselves and at other times, into the proper and customary meditations on the mysteries of the Rosary, during the devout recital of the prescribed vocal prayers of the Rosary. Points of meditation on these mysteries may be obtained for those unaccustomed to meditation from any of the pious books written on the Rosary devotion, such as the "Crown of Mary," "Rosa Aurea," etc.

The constitution continues to say:

"Amongst the pious exercises of the Confraternity the first place is, on account of its merit, given to the solemn procession in honor of the Mother of God, which takes place on the first Sunday of each month and especially on the first Sunday of October. St. Pius V commended this ancient custom. Gregory XIII mentions it amongst the praiseworthy exercises and customs of the confraternity, and many sovereign pontiffs have attached to it special indulgences.

"In order that this ceremony may never be omitted, at least within the church, when it is impossible to have it in the open air, we extend to all the directors of the Confraternity the privilege granted by Benedict XIII to the Order of Preachers of transferring the procession to another Sunday, when, for any reason, it cannot take place on the first Sunday of the month.

"But when, on account of want of space, and of the number of the faithful, the solemn procession cannot conveniently take place in the church, we permit that whilst the priest with his attendants make the circuit of the church, the members of the confraternity who are present may gain all the indulgences attached to the procession."

From the time of Benedict XIII (*Pretiosus* 26, May, 1727,) the Order of Preachers has availed itself of these privileges in regard to the procession in honor of our Blessed Lady on the first Sunday of the month, and the extension of them to all the Confraternities of the Most Holy Rosary is but another proof of the depth of the love of our present Pontiff for the public honor of the Queen of Heaven, and the intensity of his desire that all of the faithful should have a convenient opportunity afforded them of gaining all the indulgences attached by the Apostolic See to participation in the Rosary procession. The concession of these privileges will unquestionably infuse fresh vigor into all the existing Confraternities, and greatly promote the erection of new ones in those parishes where they have not as yet been instituted.

Akin to this is the privilege of the votive mass in the fifteenth declaration which reads: "We wish the privilege of the votive mass of the Most Holy Rosary, so often confirmed for the Order of Preachers, to be retained, and in such manner, that not only Dominican priests, but also priests who are tertiaries, and who have received from the Master-General the faculty of legitimately using the missal of the Order, may celebrate the votive mass, *Salve Radix Sancta*, twice in the week, according to the decree of the S. C. Rituum.

"But other priests, members of the confraternity, have permission to celebrate only the votive mass in the Roman missal, *Pro diversitate temporum*, at the altar of the Confraternity on the same days as above, and with the same indulgence. The lay members of the confraternity can share in these indulgences, if they assist at the mass and either having confessed their sins, or having contrition of heart, and the intention of approaching the sacrament of Penance, they pour forth their prayers to God."

Well may Leo XIII after writing this constitution exclaim: "What more can I do for this devotion of the Most Holy Rosary and its Confraternity that I have not done?"

The votive mass, *Salve Radix Sancta*, in honor of the Queen of the Most Holy Rosary was first inserted in the missal of the Order of Preachers by Julius III and approved by Clement VIII, 2d April, 1622; Clement X, *Coelestium munerum*, 16 Feb., 1671; Innocent XI, S. C. Rituum 25th June, 1622. This mass is peculiar to the special rite of the Order of Preachers, and hence only priests of the Order or Tertiaries having the legitimate faculty for using the missal of the Order can say the mass, *Salve Radix Sancta.* In their own churches priests of the Order are privileged to say the votive mass twice in the week, on the Wednesdays and Saturdays of each week, provided a feast of the first or second class, or of precept or feria, vigil, or privileged octave does not fall on these days. The votive mass can be said in white vestments, even though this color does not harmonize with the color of the office and feast of the day." (Decree of S. C. Rites, 18 Dec., 1779.)

A similar privilege is now extended to members of the Confraternity who are not members of the Order, and is attached to the votive mass in the Roman missal, *Pro diversitate temporum*, said at the Confraternity altar, and the concession is also given to those lay members assisting at these votive masses of gaining the indulgences; provided of course they are in the state of grace which is obtained either by a good and worthy reception of the sacrament of Penance, or perfect contrition with a firm determination of approaching this sacrament. (See also decree S. C. Rites 25th June,

1622; Clement X, *Coelestium munerum*, 16 Feb., 1671; Innocent XI, *Nuper pro parte*, 31 July, 1679, and Pius IX, *Summary of Indulgences*, 18 Sept., 1862.)

Two other Rosary societies remain to be mentioned: "The Perpetual Rosary" and "The Living Rosary." The former as its name indicates, aims at the perpetual recitation of the Rosary by members of the association of the Perpetual Rosary. The members choose one hour each month, or more frequently if they so desire, to say the entire Rosary and meditate at greater length than usual on its mysteries. The hours are so apportioned among the members that there is no hour, day or night, in which the psalter of Mary is not said, her graces and virtues remembered, and her powerful intercession before the throne of God sought and obtained.

From the Acts of the Chapter of the Order of Preachers, held at Rome in 1650, we find that the venerable Father Master Timothy Ricci, O. P., was the founder of this society. Many of the sovereign pontiffs have approved the society and enriched it with abundant indulgences. (Alexander VII, *Ad Augendum*, 1 June, 1656, *Ad Augendum*, Apr. 8, 1658; *Ad Augendum*, 15 Jan., 1663; Clement X, *Ad Augendum*, 17 Feb., 1676; Innocent XI, *Ad Augendum*, 17 Feb., 1683; Clement XI, *Ad Augendum*, 14 Nov., 1723; Clement XII, *Ad Augendum*, 20 May, 1737; Pius VI, *Ad Augendum*, 17 Dec., 1779; *Ad Augendum*, 13 May, 1786; Pius VII, *Ad Augendum*, 16 Feb., 1808.

Finally, by a brief of Pope Pius IX, dated 12 Apr., 1867, the devotion was again approved, and the organization was declared to be a sodality, but not a confraternity, inasmuch as all of its members belong to the Confraternity of the Most Holy Rosary, and the members of the society of the Perpetual Rosary are banded together to more efficaciously advance the aims and purposes of that Confraternity. The society is established in this country with headquarters in the monastery of St. Dominic, Tenth street and Thirteenth avenue, Newark, N. J.

The society of the "Living Rosary" was founded by a pious woman, named Marie Pauline Jaricot, in Lyons, in 1826. It is formed of bands of fifteen, each of whom was obliged to say and meditate upon one mystery at least during the week. In this way the entire Rosary would be said by the Rosary band each week. The society received the approbation of Gregory XVI in a brief dated Jan. 27, 1832. This society like the Perpetual Rosary is under the supreme direction of the Master-General of the Order of Preachers, and its sodalities might be managed by the local authorities of the Rosary Confraternity. This favor was granted by a brief of Aug. 17, 1877. All the necessary information for the formation

of bands, etc., can be obtained from the directors of the Rosary Confraternity. It is scarcely necessary to add that this society is not intended to take the place of a Rosary Confraternity itself, and that all the indulgences attached to it are only still further inducements to members of that Confraternity to advance the grand devotion of the Rosary.

The more we inquire into the Rosary devotion and the advantages of membership in the Rosary Confraternity the more clearly do we see its great importance. It is no wonder, then, that it has always retained such a firm grasp upon the pious Catholic, and that the sovereign Pontiffs, the various religious Orders, and bishops and priests praise and propagate the devotion with so much zeal and charity for the honor of God and his Blessed Mother, and sanctification of immortal souls. That the intrinsic work of the Rosary may be better known, that its glorious triumphs over heresies and heathenism may be remembered, that its spread over the Catholic world may be accomplished, that its future victories may be hastened, and that the special love of Almighty God for this devotion may be recognized is the evident aim of our present Holy Pontiff, Leo XIII, the great, enlightened, experienced Pope of the Rosary.

M. P. O'Sullivan, O. P.

PRIESTS AND PEOPLE IN FRANCE.

FOR the last few years, in the midst of the most unsettled political conditions, a very decided and happy change has been quietly taking place among the French people in regard to Religion and the Church. The storm of persecution which raged so furiously for a time against her has well nigh spent itself. The rural and working classes, ever disposed to distrust their natural guides, and to listen with equal readiness to high-sounding phrases and to base and dishonest insinuations, are gradually opening their eyes to facts and beginning to judge for themselves. Among the political leaders long hostile to religion, some of the most enlightened are now ready to confess that they had overshot the mark and gone farther than the country was prepared to follow them. The chief representatives too of the manufactures, the commerce and the wealth of the nation, though too often strangers to religious belief

and practice, yet realise the fact that the Church is a great conservative power, one of the strongest defences against socialism and anarchy, and that, while it might not be advisable to make her influence preponderant, yet it would be most impolitic to destroy it. Hence a disposition in the governments which have succeeded each other so rapidly in recent years to treat religious interests with some degree of fairness, and to apply as leniently and as little as possible the unjust laws enacted at a time of active hostility.

In the literary world, which always counts for so much in France, it is easy to notice a similar change. Newspapers long known for their opposition to the Church have gradually altered their tone and become fair, if not friendly. The *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the most widely read and most influential review not only of France but of Europe, uncatholic from the beginning, and placed for many years under the control and management of Renan, is now pursuing a course of which Catholics have little to complain. Other reviews have sprung up of a more decidedly Catholic color, and won a position of honor and influence. Some of the best known literary men, writers of fiction, essayists, critics, poets, are to be found once more on the side of the Church. Religion is treated in a more respectful and sympathetic way than it was wont to be. The priest too fares better at the hands of novelists, with whom he is a favorite character. His work and his inner life are getting to be better understood by them and more happily delineated. Finally the new school of philosophy which has sprung up these latter years as a protest against the growing materialism and sensualism of the age, although proclaiming its independence of all positive religious doctrines, yet by the very nobleness and purity of its principles leads naturally towards the Church.

Influences such as these—and there are many more—give much reason to be hopeful for the religious future of a country to which the Catholic world has never ceased to look with a lively interest. But the most encouraging feature of all, perhaps, is to be found in the altered attitude and action of the clergy, and in the new methods by which an ever increasing section of them succeed in reaching a part of the population estranged from them by a series of causes in operation for several generations.

To understand this, something must be said of the religious conditions of France, a subject regarding which, it must be confessed, the strangest misconceptions prevail outside its boundaries. One day we hear of a "Catholic France," the next day of "Infidel France" as if the whole country were one or the other. The truth is that it is neither. Like so many other countries, France reckons among her children, believers, unbelievers, doubters, inquirers, in

ever varying proportions. By her history, by her traditions, by her action and influence throughout the world for many ages, France is Catholic,—the leading Catholic country of Europe. She remains Catholic in that the immense majority of her children are baptized in the true Church, and furthermore, in that, from North to South and from East to West, individuals and families may be found in the active practice of the highest Christian virtues; nay, whole regions as sincerely religious, as true to priest and to Church as may be found in any part of the world.

But they are only a minority, and side by side with them stands another section with tendencies of the most decided character in the opposite direction; hostile to the Church, to priests, to whatever bears the name and impress of religion. They too are a minority, but active, united, energetic, unscrupulous as to means and most persistent in their efforts to uproot and to destroy.[1] Between the two, and belonging in some degree to one or the other, but entirely to neither, lies the bulk of the nation, uncertain and wavering, unwilling to accept in its integrity the Catholic faith or submit to the ordinances of the Church, yet equally disinclined to sever completely the ties which bind them to her, the great majority still faithful to some of her beliefs and practices, but only in reality to those which imply little effort of the mind or of the will. A keen observer, Abbé Roux, was not far from the truth when, viewing the country as a whole, he wrote: *France is deistic,* that is, she believes in the philosophical creed of Rousseau: God, the Soul, human responsibility and an after life. But she hesitates to go beyond, and while generally ready to admire the spirit and welcome the benefits of Christianity, she instinctively recoils from its mysterious doctrines and dreads the influences which might lead to the acceptance of Christian duty in its fulness. The truth is, the law of life as proclaimed and enforced by the Catholic Church is too much for her. A rule less strict and a diminished creed, such as Protestantism offers, would be much more to her taste. And yet Protestantism has not and never had any serious attraction for her. If earnestly religious at all, she is bound to be Catholic.

There are those who will ask how the Church has lost her hold on so considerable a number of men who almost all belong to her by their baptism and by their early religious formation. But the problem is not limited to France. Though little spoken of in this respect, Italy, Spain, Austria, and other Catholic countries where similar agencies are in operation, present results of the same kind and only different in degree because these same agencies have

[1] They are commonly connected with Freemasonry, a widespread organization in France, and strongly antagonistic to religion through all continental Europe.

begun to be applied at a later period.[1] The Irish themselves are not so much of an exception as is thought. Persecution, poverty, a superstitious dread of the power of the priest have helped them to be loyal to the Church, as well as their inborn purity and their vivid sense of the unseen. But in circumstances humanly happier, and in closer contact with the movement and life of the modern world, it is not at all sure that they would have fared so well. Pride, impatience of restraint, and the love of forbidden pleasures, wherever found, are consciously or unconsciously leagued against the Church. They are more openly so in France, not because the Frenchman is morally worse, but because he is more impulsive, and at the same time more open and sincere. He takes little trouble to conceal what he thinks and feels; he hates to profess principles which he fails to practice; and the respectable hypocrisy which in this country, and still more in Protestant England, covers such a vast amount of doubt and positive unbelief is utterly abhorrent to him. Nobody talks of "Infidel England" or "Infidel America," yet our conviction is that there exists incomparably more religious belief in France than there is in either of these so-called religious countries. But the Church is uncompromising and exacting. She admits of no halving of belief or of practice; hence, as Christ said of Himself: *Whoever is not for her is against her.*

The estrangement in various degrees of such a large portion of the population of France from the Church goes back far. It may be said to have taken its rise in the great revolution which marks the close of the last century. That huge tidal wave which swept over France, destroying everything in its course, and was felt

[1] Here is a little picture of the attitude of many Spaniards in regard to religion which just comes to us in the Christmas number of the Boston Herald. It so faithfully expresses the condition of mind of so many in France as well as in Spain that we feel no hesitation in giving it:

People who are born into a religion which does not duck or bend to phases of passing scientific opinion, which has noble ideals and a great history, helps make life easier, and does not bother much with "problems," have things comfortably arranged for them. It is really a great relief to know where you came from, what you are here for, and where you are going, with a choice as to destination. Montaigne, though by nature a genial doubter, was at heart a Catholic. He flew about in the upper air of speculation, trying his philosophical wings, but came back into the big and roomy and comfortable house of the ancient belief when weary, and an indulgent Pope and sensible cardinal refused to give heed to fanatical accusers who would fain have put him to the question, and perhaps have toasted him right brown.

Now the men of cultivation in Spanish countries are very much of the temper of Montaigne. They get together and say unkind things of the church which christened them and brought them up; they become philosophic and scoff at Christianity, and affect to believe in the vagaries of Renan and the latest sceptic, but they do not fail to call in the church for the marrying of their children, for the burial of their dead, and, at last, when the ultimate moment comes, the church of their childhood finds them ready to lay their doubting heads on her broad and motherly bosom. And the wise men among the priests let the men of their flocks talk. They smile indulgently as fathers listening to high-spirited boys who make fun of all things. The patient priest waits. He knows that the wanderer will be very glad to wing himself home in his old age.

through the whole civilised world, did not spare the Church. For a time she disappeared from public life, and a new generation of men grew up almost entire strangers to her. When gradually she emerged and showed herself once more, she was looked upon as a survival of a hated past, still wedded in sympathy to what the revolution had meant to destroy, and so, outside a comparatively small number of faithful adherents, there was little welcome for her. The iron grasp of Napoleon in which she was held during his reign and the favors subsequently bestowed upon her by the unpopular Bourbons were little calculated to secure to her the respect or the love of the nation at large. Respect she won later on; but confidence and love, however well merited, were grudgingly bestowed upon her. There always lingered in the popular mind, a vague suspicion, sedulously cultivated by her opponents, that the Church was not in sympathy with the civilisation and progress of which the age was so proud; that her heart was with the old régime which the revolution had swept away, that while unquestionably exercising a beneficial influence, she had other hidden selfish aims,—and supreme among them, the wish to get power somehow, and compel people to be religious whether they liked it or not. This last has been the popular bugbear right through the century, worked with fatal effect on the imagination of the unenlightened. It was the watchword of Gambetta: *le clericalisme, voila l'ennemi!*

Such in brief are the people among whom the priests of France have had to exercise their ministry during the whole course of the century now coming to a close: faithful friends, bitter enemies, and a vast fluctuating crowd sometimes disposed to be friendly, to listen and even to conform for a time, but too often standing aloof, suspicious, distrustful, or fearing to be enlightened.

That in this condition of things the principal care of the clergy should be devoted to the "faithful" who sought it of themselves, and who readily gave themselves up to it, was only what might be expected. And in that regard we may safely say that the priests of France as a body have held all through the century an exceptionally high position. In the assiduous administration of the sacraments, constant preaching, missions, confraternities, devotions, ingenious contrivances of all kinds for the benefit of souls, they have set examples which have been copied all over the Church. Nowhere, in particular, has so much been done for the religious instruction of children and preparation for their first communion. And behind it all there was the edifying life of the priests themselves, their faith, their piety, their self-denying, untiring devotion to the service of souls, winning the esteem of believers and unbelievers alike.

The results, as regards the religious portion of the population,

have been excellent. There are in France, as we have said, individuals, families, parishes, whole dioceses of which the Church may be proud. There is in her an abundance and power of spiritual vitality ever bursting forth in new and beautiful forms of religious life. Year after year she gives to an unspiritual and selfish world the spectacle of a host of young men and young women severing the ties that bind them to country and to home, and going forth joyfully to bear to the ends of the earth the message of the Gospel and the blessings of the faith. But why, it will once more be asked, with so much to recommend her, has she failed to disarm her opponents or to win back the loyalty and love of so many of her children? The great difficulty with her is to reach them and to get a hearing, and this brings us to the more recent efforts which have been attempted in that direction and with the most encouraging results, especially within the last ten years.

There is a very common impression abroad regarding the French clergy, that they choose to live too much apart and too widely separated from the people. Unfortunately, it has not been so much a matter of choice with them as of compulsion. In rural districts and small towns where the old faith still reigns supreme, the relations between priests and people remain as close and as cordial as could be wished for. But where religion has lost its hold, and especially in cities and large manufacturing towns, with their ever growing element of "nomads" who, as well as the "settled" workers, are strongly imbued with socialistic theories and are seldom or never seen in a place of worship, the priest has practically become a stranger to them. The hostile feeling generated in certain rural districts has led to the same results. Prejudice on the one side, and a sense of being wronged, or simply timidity, on the other, have been steadily widening the chasm. The priest, finding his advances coldly received, restricted himself more and more to his professional duties; the people contemplating him at a distance, wrapped in his sacred garb and in his mysterious dignity, learned to look upon him as a stranger to what they most cared for, and only concerned to make them religious, and induce them to approach the sacraments. Thus isolation was in a manner forced upon him, and the pious faithful gathering edification from it, naturally encouraged him to persist in it.

It was time to change, and the change is being gradually effected. To reach a people suspicious and estranged is no easy matter. We know that by the difficulty we meet here in reaching non-Catholics, though living in their very midst. The old methods had failed—others are being adopted more in keeping with the spirit and habits of the times, and we will here mention some of the principal ones.

1. The organisation of parishes offers new and interesting features in many places. Besides the parochial schools, a recent and heavy drain on Catholic charities, there are the "patronages" where boys and girls after their first communion are taken away from the contamination of the streets and given every acceptable means of enjoying themselves, especially on Sundays, and thus continue to grow under the blessed influence of religion. Besides the regular sermons, there are conferences and lectures for men only, to which they are, if necessary, invited by letter, a courtesy which hardly ever fails to draw them. Once brought together it is easy enough to handle them. Subjects of various kinds are treated, religious of course, if they meet in the Church; but any interesting subject becomes easily a bond of union and sympathy between the speaker and his audience, leading the latter to listen more readily to questions of religion when the time has come to introduce them. A sight long familiar to us in this country is thus gradually introducing itself to French eyes: priests speaking outside church precincts and on subjects of general interest. Several have thus addressed popular meetings through the country; some have already been elected to the legislature by Catholic constituencies and thus are in a position to reach the whole nation. A form of conference resorted to occasionally with great success consists in introducing the dramatic element into the instructions offered to the people. The subjects chosen are generally those which raise most objections in the popular mind, and the special interest of the method comes from the fact that these objections are presented, not by the preacher who has to answer them, but by an interlocutor who is careful to give them all the color and force they possess in the minds of the hearers. Thus what begins as a sermon ends as a debate in which the audience is keenly interested. Needless to say that to make it successful great tact and judgment are required on both sides. The objector must reflect faithfully the popular impressions without adding strength to them; the lecturer in parrying the thrust of his adversary has to do it deftly and with due regard to the feelings of his hearers, so as to win their sympathy while inflicting defeat on their spokesman.

2. Another means appealed to most successfully is the press. Preaching at its best reaches comparatively few; the printed page goes everywhere. In France it has been a great power for evil, and too long the clergy fought it only by the favorite method of warning and denunciation, good enough, perhaps, to preserve from contamination those who were still undefiled, but utterly powerless to protect or to cure the others. Only through the press can the harm wrought by an irreligious and unscrupulous press be combated, and

to this the clergy of France are becoming more and more alive. As a consequence a considerable amount of printed matter is put forth and actively circulated by them;—newspapers, magazines, booklets, leaflets, short treatises, popular presentations of religious truth are following closely on the heels of the infidel propaganda. Sold at cost price or distributed gratuitously, they penetrate everywhere and are effecting the happiest change. Pastors of large parishes avail themselves of similar means to keep in touch with those of their people who are never even seen in church. Once a year, or it may be much more frequently the latter receive from their pastor a neat, attractive pamphlet or paper dealing with some religious truth or practice and which is sure to be read. The work is only at its commencement, nor can it, from the nature of the case, be expected to reach its full expansion for years. There is still a lack of proper organisation, a lack too, of experience and dexterity in wielding the new weapons. Priests are not always the most successful apologists. Instead of being satisfied with dealing blows which gradually weaken the enemy, they rush upon him with all their might and strive to crush him at once. Each battle is fought as if all depended on it. To secure an advantage is not enough for them; they must win every time a decisive victory. By education and by temperament, the priests of France are particularly exposed to such faults of strategy, but they are gradually unlearning them. They are coming to realize that the winning of a people or of a single soul to full belief or to a virtuous life is ordinarily not the result of a single engagement but of a lengthened campaign, in which each success has its value; and that to remove misapprehension, to allay prejudice even in a single particular, is always to bring a soul one step nearer to the truth and to God.

3. While religiously indifferent, the working classes are keenly alive to their temporal interests, and here again the clergy are coming down to their level and winning their favor. The rural classes, the backbone of the country, still behindhand in many places in their agricultural methods and economic traditions, have much to learn even for their material interests and their priests have undertaken to teach them. Through their agency improved methods of culture are being introduced, local syndicates and co-operative societies established, agricultural banks, equally profitable to those who invest and to those who borrow, are springing up on all sides; outlets are secured for the various products of the land; the hard-working peasant is finding himself surrounded by more comfort; and, realising that he owes it all to his priest, he is learning to see in him a father and a friend. The operatives of cities, more intelligent but more easily kindled to revolt against all existing authori-

ties, as more or less in league against them, are now coming in contact with priests who have studied the social questions of the day, who are alive to the claims of the workingman and in full sympathy with him in the vindication of his natural and social rights. In a word the priest is coming forth from the sanctuary and mingling with the crowd. He remains the man of God, but he is also becoming the man of the people.

These are only some of the expedients to which their zeal enlightened by experience and by the example of other countries is leading the younger portion of the French clergy. If we would see them in operation, we have only to turn to the marvellously truthful picture of clerical life and work recently given to the public under signature of "Yves le Querdec." A volume of letters supposed to have been written by a country pastor, all about his people and his work;—a second volume in which, having been appointed to a city parish, he continues to describe the various classes of people with whom he has to deal, and the difficulties he encounters among them;—such is the general idea of the work. A last volume entitled "Journal d'un évêque"—(a bishop's diary)—widens the horizon and introduces the reader to the more general interests of religion in which a French bishop is engaged.

As a picture of French society from a religious standpoint, and of the complex, warring elements amid which priest and bishop have to steer their course, it would be difficult to imagine anything more perfect. Each situation is admirably analysed, each feature caught up and presented in exquisite style and with striking accuracy. The reader is living through the whole thing. But it is much more than a picture. It is a lesson taught gently yet forcibly to the clergy of the period, pointing out with consummate tact what may be done successfully and how to do it in the most adverse circumstances. These charming volumes have brought back courage and hope to hundreds of priests disheartened by failure, and even bishops have confessed that they learned not a little from them. So thorough is the knowledge they exhibit, not only of the external aspect and incidents of clerical life, but of its inmost thoughts and aspirations, that behind the *non de plume* of the writer, one could only expect to find some ecclesiastical dignitary of mature years and wide experience, hiding his individuality in order to point the way more freely to priest and bishop. In reality the writer is neither bishop nor priest, but a simple layman,—a distinguished professor of philosophy in one of the lycées of Paris and a well known writer on philosophical subjects.

III.

But to win back the working classes, as the priests of France have begun to do, would be at most an ephemeral success if they failed to gain over or to hold at the same time the more enlightened part of the nation. For to that portion of the community ultimately devolves the intellectual direction of the whole body. Now two things only can secure abiding influence over such people: knowledge and virtue. Virtue, and of no ordinary kind, as we have already said, the French clergy exhibited all through the century, winning thereby to themselves universal respect. But knowledge was wanting;—not indeed the professional, practical knowledge necessary for the exercise of the ministry; that had been sufficiently supplied by the seminary training; but that knowledge of a higher order which allows men to speak with authority upon the subjects which fill the modern mind. That was habitually missing; nor could it well be otherwise. In past ages the clergy took the lead in almost everything. Even in the last century they occupied a prominent position in all the principal departments of human knowledge. But after the revolution had accomplished its destructive work, they reappeared, despoiled of all the practical means of special study, diminished in numbers, and claimed on every side by the imperative needs of the faithful. And so they have remained through the century; a few men of exceptional gifts emerging here and there among them, but the vast majority absorbed in their daily duties and content to settle down on a fairly respectable, yet comparatively low level. But this was only part of the evil. It is doubtful, in fact, whether special knowledge (outside that of their profession) can be fairly expected at any time in priests engaged in the work of the ministry. But even outside special knowledge, there is such a thing as a broad general culture, keeping men in touch, and as far as possible in sympathy, with contemporary thought and the progressive movement of the age. As a means of influence this would obviously have been invaluable, yet it must be confessed that for a long time in most places it was neglected. The youth of the sanctuary grew up in a sort of intellectual sequestration, taught to distrust and to dread indiscriminately the very things that appealed most powerfully to their generation, and to live practically strangers to what was uppermost in men's thought. Happily that condition of things has well nigh disappeared, and the change is mainly due to the establishment of Catholic universities.

The need of such institutions was long and keenly felt, and from time to time plans were elaborated to carry out so laudable a purpose. At length, a few years after the downfall of the Empire, under the inspiration of Mgr. Dupanloup, the celebrated bishop of

Orleans, then a member of the legislature, a law was passed allowing the creation under certain conditions of free universities, with power of giving degrees. The Catholics of France were not slow to avail themselves of the opportunity. Almost simultaneously five universities sprung into existence. Paris, Lyons, Lille, Toulouse, Angers, became the new centers of learning—too many to begin with, from a financial as well as from a political point of view. The old University of France was alarmed, and a new legislature less liberal withdrew the privilege of giving degrees, and forbade even the higher chairs in Catholic colleges to any but graduates of the State National University. The measure was anything but a friendly one, yet, in the eyes of many it proved a blessing in disguise. The Catholic institutions could no longer call themselves universities, nor confer degrees of their own, against which it would have always been easy to foster a prejudice; but they could prepare their students for the state degrees, the value of which nobody would think of questioning. And this is the policy they at once adopted, and have ever since persevered in, with the result of bringing together, year after year, the élite of the clerical youth of each diocese, to be initiated into a deeper knowledge of literature, or of history, or of philosophy, or of the various natural sciences. For obvious reasons, their training is in the hands of graduates of the National University, mostly men of large pedogogic experience, familiar with the most advanced methods of teaching which they naturally impart to their students, thus fitting them not only for the State examinations which they face generally with much credit to themselves, not unfrequently winning the very highest honors,—but also for the teaching in Catholic colleges to which they are mostly destined. To many of these colleges the introduction of the new methods has been an inestimable boon, and our young professors have already gifted the country with some of the best manuals and text books of classical studies.

But there was another department of still more vital importance, the department of clerical studies, or to call them by their generic name, Theology. Here, the bishops, untrammelled by governmental interference and dependent only on the authority of the Pope, proceeded at once to the establishment of higher courses of study. Side by side with the clerics devoted to the pursuit of other subjects, was to be seen an ever increasing number of students entirely given up to the ecclesiastical sciences: dogma, church history, the various branches of Biblical study, etc. Here indeed, was a new, long-wished for and most desirable departure: the opportunity given at last to the French clergy to reconquer its former prominence in the field of sacred learning. Now that the work has been proceeding

for some years, the effect is felt everywhere, not only in the university schools, but through the seminaries of the country, and to the remotest homes of the rural clergy.

This last but not least valuable result has become possible through the ecclesiastical reviews which have recently come into existence as a natural outgrowth of the theological schools. Each one of the latter has its special organ which, besides chronicling the events of the individual school, gives thorough treatment to questions of general interest. In addition to these there are several other reviews, unattached—but very widely diffused—such as *La Revue du Clerge Français*; some, like the *Revue Biblique* or the *Revue d'Histoire et de Litterature Religieuses*, which in their respective spheres take their place side by side with the best English and continental periodicals. The effect of these publications circulating widely among the clergy is incalculable. In regular succession they convey even to those farthest removed from the intellectual centres the latest results of original research, with the problems they give rise to, the new views and solutions to which the ablest men's minds are being led, etc., pointing out at the same time the most valuable among the multitudinous works constantly issuing from the press; being in short like an intellectual leaven permeating and lifting up the whole body of the clergy.

To these higher centres of learning religion is indebted for one more signal benefit: "the Catholic Congresses" or gathering of Catholic scientists and schools, which have been held within the last ten years.[1] The results of their labors have been given each time to the public. It is impossible for an enlightened Catholic to look into them without experiencing a sense of pleasure and pride at seeing so much advanced learning do homage, in some of its brightest representations, to Catholic truth; at the same time he cannot help noticing the considerable share that priests, and in particular French priests, occupy in the proceedings. True, the region of the natural sciences is almost entirely given over to laymen, but in philosophy, in history, and in the biblical sciences, clerics take by far the largest part.

Thus then, in divers ways, the clergy of France are getting back into touch with the various classes of the population from which they have been so long and so unhappily estranged. With more of mutual knowledge, there is a steady decline of prejudice on either side and a growth of mutual appreciation which, if undisturbed by fresh misunderstandings, cannot fail to lead in time to a cordial and helpful union.

[1] The two first were held in Paris, the following in Brussels, and the last in Freiburg; Munich is the place chosen for the coming Congress of 1900.

What, in the judgment of most American Catholics, would effect the same results much more effectively and thoroughly is the severing, if it were possible, of the band between Church and State, making the clergy entirely dependent on the people in France as in this country. That may be. But the problem is infinitely more complex than is commonly supposed. For the present it is not practical, his present Holiness having forbidden even the discussion of the question.

IV.

But, it will be asked, how reconcile so favorable and hopeful a view with the signs of weakness apparent in the clerical body of France—with those numerous defections happening every day; in fact, a sort of general movement towards Protestantism of which we hear in the ranks of the French clergy.

The objection would be perfectly natural if the facts were true. But the trouble is, they are devoid of all serious foundation. The clerical defections of last year are neither more nor less than what may be witnessed any other year. In view of the sensational statements that have gone the rounds recently of the press in this connection, it may not be amiss to state here the real facts. In a country reckoning as many as fifty thousand priests it would be a miracle that none of them should falter or fail. There are always a few upon whom the yoke of the priesthood weighs too heavily. For some, of a restive and undisciplined temperament, it is the yoke of obedience; with others, it is the yoke of Christian and priestly chastity; with a few—very few—it is the yoke of the faith, to bear which they had been insufficiently trained. When such men choose to abandon the duties and life of the priesthood, they generally drop out noiselessly and are heard of no more. They would gain little by publicity, for in no section of society would any sympathy await them. This year things are somewhat different in consequence of special facilities secured to the deserters. A Protestant lady, the widow of a rich banker, has placed a beautiful villa at the disposal of those in question. Those who leave the church are welcomed there, and every effort made to secure them acceptable positions. When it becomes known of a priest that he is tempted in that direction, overtures are made to encourage him. In this way it has been possible to bring together eight, or ten, or maybe twelve unhappy young men. The "liberal" or rationalistic section of Protestants welcomes them; but the "orthodox," that is, those who still cling to the supernatural, give them no countenance. And very rightly indeed, because so far they give proof much more of unlimited love of liberty than of faithfulness to any positive Christian

doctrine. A few in fact have openly disclaimed all further connection with Christianity. They have been much spoken of in other countries, but are almost entirely unnoticed at home. The anti-religious press ever on the look-out for what may harm the Church is utterly silent in their regard. The great Protestant organ "Le Journal of Genève" never refers to them. Whatever notoriety they enjoy is due, first to a monthly bulletin of their own "Le Chrétien Français" which gathers together every symptom of revolt in the clergy and, to enlarge the number of its adherents, roams over the whole world. Whoever, monk or priest, falls away from Catholic unity, be he Spaniard, Italian, German or Oriental, is sure to be recorded in the columns of the "Chrétien Français." In the second place, this publicity has been recently increased by some Catholic newspapers which, strong against "Americanism" endeavor to trace back the defections of these unhappy priests to the liberal spirit breathed across the ocean, and, to strengthen their argument unconsciously magnify the importance of the movement. In reality it has none. The unhappy individuals who have joined it were entirely unknown, except in the case of a few who were too well known, and of whom their bishops were pleased to find themselves suddenly relieved. They can exercise no influence, being with one or two exceptions devoid of all talent, and having nothing to teach. The articles of their organ are the merest declamation about *Christian freedom, liberty of thought, leaning on the Saviour,* and other such platitudes devoid of any definite meaning with which we are at all familiar. What the world craves for to-day, in France as elsewhere, is fixity of principles, something to stand firmly upon and make a basis of action. And this we know can be found only in the Catholic Church.

J. Hogan.

PROTESTANTISM AND THE BLESSED EUCHARIST.

RECENTLY the Archbishop of Canterbury, the official head of English Protestantism, delivered himself of some views on the Blessed Eucharist,[1] which have attracted attention from various quarters and for very divergent reasons. The views in themselves contain nothing very new, or very erudite. Nor could anybody expect such from Dr. Temple. There have been, and there are Anglicans of the type of the leaders of the Oxford movement or of the late Canon Liddon, or the large and respectable body known as Ritualists, who have studied the Fathers and theologians and whose patristic sense must be shocked by such utterances as those before us. But the heads of the English Church Establishment are chosen and appointed by the government of the day, not to expound the law and the prophets, but to supervise and continue the traditional movements of the ecclesiastical machine with as little friction as possible. The well-known injunction of the wiliest of diplomatists to his appointees—*point de zele*, or the older adage—*quieta non movere*—forms the chief part of the government's commissions to its episcopal servants. Dr. Temple himself is a good example of the working of this system. It is well known that the former headmaster of Rugby was appointed to London and later to Canterbury in recognition, not of any ascetical zeal or theological attainments, but of shrewd common sense and easy-going complacency. When such men occasionally pronounce on matters ecclesiastical or theological they do so in somewhat the same fictitious manner as the Queen makes speeches. The words she officially utters at the openings of Parliament and on other state occasions represent, not her personal views nor the traditional, historical views of her family, but those of the dominant political party as represented by the existing ministry. In the same way the official utterances of the English or, for that matter, of other Protestant bishops rightfully claim to represent neither scripture nor tradition but the prevailing notions of the average Protestant. It is from this point of view that such pronouncements are of any value to outsiders, Christian or otherwise. To the student of religion, especially to the Catholic, it must prove interesting to consider the latest pronouncement of three hundred years of Protestantism on

[1] Reported in the *Guardian* of October 12, '88.

the "mysterium fidei," the sacrament of sacraments—the Blessed Eucharist. Of course, the Anglicans, having no Orders, have no Eucharist; for the ministry of the Eucharist was confided by Christ to His ordained disciples and their successors. It is now definitely proved and decided that the Anglicans have no claim to valid succession or valid orders. Hence they have no more power to consecrate than ordinary laymen, that is no power at all. But Dr. Temple speaks on the hypothesis of the validity of Anglican Orders. And it is from this standpoint that we shall consider how illogical, unscriptural and untraditional his views are; we shall set forth some of the causes that have led to such views; and we shall mention a few of the lamentable consequences that have followed therefrom.

Dr. Temple's charge is referred to as follows in a leading article in the London *Spectator*, October 15:

"The present Archbishop of Canterbury has no doubt the defects of his qualities; but then he has qualities, and one of them, rather rare among clerical dignitaries of our day, is fearlessness. He must be much better aware than most men of the controversy that is raging among clergymen as to the Eucharist, of the bitterness the contest excites, and of the real danger of a secession on its account, yet he makes it the first subject of his visitation charge, and delivers his judgment as to the true attitude of the church in regard to it—as clearly and unhesitatingly as if he did not know that great sections of the twenty thousand clerics whom he is really addressing will regard that utterance, some of them with dismay, some of them with anger, and a few with positive abhorrence. He makes no reserves, he conceals nothing, save perhaps his individual opinion, which would have been out of place, and he is never unintelligible. Like it or dislike it, there is no mistaking his exposition of the law. The Archbishop declares that the Church of England permits two widely different opinions as to the nature of the Eucharist, and rejects absolutely a third. The third is the one popularly known as transubstantiation, the Roman belief that the elements when consecrated are actually changed, though not visibly changed, into the very body of our Lord. This belief the church, with the very obvious and strong approval of Dr. Temple, utterly condemns.

"Most assuredly," says his Grace, "if ever human inventions have been allowed to supersede the teaching of Scripture, this is among the number of such inventions. There is not a word in the New Testament which can be wrested into a support of the doctrine of the conversion of the bread into the body of our Lord or the wine into His blood. The Church of England has condemned this teaching as unscriptural; as inconsistent with the very nature of a sacrament, since a sacrament implies an external and visible sign with an

inward and spiritual grace; as tending and having already given rise to many superstitions."

"That the Archbishop is historically correct is certain, for otherwise the Reformation would have very little meaning, a fact of which extreme Ritualists are well aware when they try to explain that great movement away; but there must be a thousand clergymen to whom a statement so definite and unqualified will give more than a momentary pang. On the other hand the Church tolerates two opinions without finally deciding between them. There are those who hold a view which the Archbishop thus describes: 'There are those who hold that no special gift is bestowed by this sacrament, but that the value of it mainly, if not entirely, resides in the effect produced on the soul of the receiver by the commemoration of that wonderful act of love, our Lord's sacrifice of Himself on the Cross. Nothing more, they think, is needed, and nothing more is given. The spiritual effect, according to this view, is great, the memory of the Cross works on all the being; it softens, purifies, elevates, kindles; and this to such a degree that possibly no other influence can be compared with that exercised by this great sacrifice. But there is no special gift, no supernatural interposition, any more than in prayer.' And there are those who hold that there is something more, that the Lutheran doctrine is true, that in some mysterious way, though the elements are not changed, something supernatural has been added, that, in fact, they are natural things yet our Lord is actually present in them. The Church permits both views, the commemoration service and the actual presence in the Lutheran sense, that is, as it is technically called, 'consubstantiation'; but it will not permit the latter view to be pushed or exaggerated into the Romanist belief. That is clear, and justifies the assertion we have maintained for so many years, that on this point, which is cardinal, the Church is intentionally comprehensive. It rejects no shade of opinion on the Eucharist except that which is in the most distinctive way openly Romanist.'

The audacity of some of the statements quoted above takes away one's breath. In them Dr. Temple shows that official English Protestantism is as brutal in its antagonism to everything Catholic today as it was in the time of Queen Bess. Not one of even the most rabid of the so-called reformers ever uttered a more bare-faced misstatement than that contained in the words: "There is not a word in the New Testament which can be wrested into a support of the doctrine of conversion of the bread into the body of our Lord or the wine into His blood." All the wresting and quibbling and misinterpretation has been done by those who would set up figurative, metaphorical and fanciful interpretations of their own against the

literal and obvious meaning of the texts of the first three evangelists and of St. Paul, setting forth the institution of the Blessed Eucharist,

τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.

"THIS IS MY BODY,"[1] have proved too strong for their twisted hermeneutics. Even Luther had to confess that, notwithstanding his wishes and efforts to the contrary, he could not gainsay the clearness and cogency of the scriptural testimony establishing the Real Presence. It is rather late in the day now for the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury to put forth a rehash of heretical sayings about the Blessed Eucharist which have been refuted times without number for the past three hundred years. Nor do we intend to follow his example by offering a rehash of the refutations that are to be found in so many books and treatises. No man could now feel that he was advancing truth one title by so doing. There can be no seriousness in such allegations as those of Dr. Temple. If we are not to believe that Christ meant just what he said as recorded by four inspired writers, when He "took bread and blessed, and broke, and gave to His disciples, and said: Take ye and eat; *This is my Body* (by concomitance His Blood, Soul and Divinity are where His Body is)—if we are not to believe this, then all revelation goes for naught. There is no doctrine more directly and emphatically revealed than that known as *transubstantiation*, that is the miraculous change by our Lord of the substance of bread and of wine into the substance of His own Body and Blood, leaving the original accidents of the bread and wine to minister unto the Divine substance, but assigning by a fresh miracle to these accidents the attributes of substance, and the power of informing new substances.

The difficulties that this doctrine presents from the standpoint of reason are not greater than those presented by the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity or of the Incarnation. Three in One, the Infinite united to the Finite, virginity co-existing with motherhood are truths which the unaided reason of even an Aristotle could comprehend. It may even be said that it is easier for human reason to accept the doctrine of transubstantiation than any of the others mentioned. Granting the almighty power of God, there is no difficulty in believing that He, the First Cause, can change one substance into another independent of the subsidiary accidents. The apostles, who had witnessed the changing of water into wine, the feeding of thousands by five loaves, the transfiguration on the Mount, found no difficulty in believing that they were receiving under the sacramental species that which He had promised when He said: "The

[1] Math. xxvi, 26; Mark xiv, 22; Luke xxii, 19; I Cor. xi, 24.

bread that I will give is My flesh for the life of the world."[1] Science has no absolutely conclusive grounds for rejecting such an exercise of Divine power. What does science know of the intrinsic nature of matter or substance? No scientist has yet fathomed the mysterious nature and laws of even inorganic matter. The simplest prismatic formation is beyond his ken. Still more so is the union of life and matter in the plant, the flower, the fruit tree; the higher unions of life and matter in animals, their instincts and senses; above all, the union of soul and body in man, not to speak of the union of grace and nature in the soul. In presence of such wonders the right minded scientist is prepared to accept the "memorial" of them all which, according to the Psalmist,[2] a merciful and gracious Lord hath made in giving Himself as food to those who fear Him. The change of substance that takes place in the Blessed Eucharist is somewhat similar to the change of wood into stone effected by some waters; the change of bread and wine into flesh and blood in the human body. Nor is it difficult to believe that the God who changed Lot's wife into a pillar of salt, Moses' rod into a serpent, who was requested by the demon who knew His power to make bread out of stones, who created everything out of nothing, should, by an exercise of His power, change the substance of bread and wine into the substance of His own Body and Blood. The wondrous existence of Christ's Body in so small a space in the sacramental species is on a line with His entrance to and exit from His Virgin Mother's womb, His resurrection from the sealed tomb, His appearance through closed doors. We see a similar independence of quantity as St. Augustine points out, in the soul itself, which is in the whole body, yet entire in each part of it, complete in the child as in the man.

But no one has ever claimed to explain by human reason the stupendous mysteries and miracles of the Eucharist. There is, for instance, no analogy in nature or in scripture for the fact that the body of Christ is really and truly at the right hand of the Father in heaven, and at the same time in every and each duly consecrated particle of bread.[3] In presence of these truths that surpass our understanding St. Thomas, adopting the words of St. John of Damascus, advises us to act as the Blessed Virgin did when she received what she considered an impossible mission. On being assured that the power of the Most High was to overshadow her, and that "no word shall be impossible with God" she humbly submitted her judgment to the word of the Almighty.

This is what we have to do in all matters of faith, but particularly

[1] John vi, 52. [2] Ps. cx. [3] Cf. St. Thomas, Opusculum VIII.

in regard to that which is called in the Canon "the mystery of faith." To it St. Thomas applies the words adopted from Isaias vi. "nisi credideritis, non intelligetis." "Unless you believe, you will not understand," and those other words from the eleventh chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews: "He that cometh to God must believe that He is." Belief in God and in His word is the first requisite for understanding His ways.

What is most remarkable about the history of the Blessed Eucharist is that, notwithstanding the miracles it contains, it was readily embraced by the early church, and clung to throughout the ages with less heretical opposition than any other of the great dogmas. Belief in, and practice of, the Blessed Eucharist as a sacrament and a sacrifice is written on every page and phase of the church's history from the beginning. The writings of her doctors from St. Ignatius, St. John's disciple, down to St. Thomas,[1] from each of whom in the several centuries long quotations might be made proving their belief in transubstantiation; the monuments of her architecture and art, from the rude table on which St. Peter celebrated, to his altar in the world's cathedral which bears his name; from the persecutions in the catacombs to the penal laws in Ireland; the olden liturgies of the various rites—every phase of her history and life give evidence that the Church founded by Christ regarded always, as she regards to-day, the Real Presence as her greatest treasure, and the Holy Sacrifice as the central act of worship. For more than a thousand years there is not a discordant voice, until the unfortunate Berengarius, in the eleventh century, egged on for national political reasons, by the French king, resisted the authority of Rome, and denied transubstantiation. He was speedily condemned by a council held in Rome 1050, and he finally recanted, and died repentant. More than three centuries elapsed until the next heresy against the Blessed Eucharist appeared. It was in 1381, that Wycliffe, in a spirit of wounded pride and spite, propounded the doctrine of "consubstantiation"—the same doctrine which was afterwards adopted by Melanchthon, and which is proclaimed by Dr. Temple to be the nearest approach to the Catholic doctrine which the modern Church of England will officially tolerate. The ancient Church of England and the University of Oxford condemned Wycliffe's teachings. Indeed, his theory of "consubstantiation" was not only opposed to the literal interpretation of scripture and the constant teaching of the church but it was and is manifestly absurd. It presents far more difficulties than "transubstantiation" and subverts all foundation for belief in the Real

[1] See a long list of them in De Lugo, De Sacr. Euch. Disput. xi, 4.

Presence. For, as St. Thomas points out,[1] a presence can be realized where it did not previously exist only through a change of substance, or through a change of location. Now it is clear that the body of Christ cannot begin to be in the Eucharist by any local movement, for, firstly, It would thereby cease to be in heaven, which, in the hypothesis of local movement, it would have to leave, since whatever is locally moved cannot reach one place without abandoning the other; secondly, that which is subject to local movement or mutation could not be in several places at the same time as Christ's Body is in the Blessed Eucharist. Again, the form of the sacrament "This is my Body" is utterly at variance with the "consubstantiation" view which could mean at most: "Here is my Body" or "My Body is in this bread." Further, the divine adoration given to the Blessed Eucharist would be out of place if it contained bread also; and there would be no foundation for the unvarying practice of the Church which regards the priest who has consumed the sacred species only, as still fasting, and in fit condition to consume another Host, or to celebrate another mass, whereas the partaking of mere bread which would take place under the consubstantiation theory would break his fast. This particular view, then, is at the same time irrational, unscriptural, and untraditional. Yet it is, as we have said, on Dr. Temple's own showing, the only kind of Real Presence which official Protestantism will tolerate.

In this respect, the Church of England falls below the teaching of even Luther, for he did not formally adopt consubstantiation. The tenth article of the Augsburg Confession presented to Charles V in 1530, practically acknowledged transubstantiation: "They (the Protestants) teach that the Body and Blood of Christ are really present and are distributed to the communicants under the appearance of bread and wine, and they condemn those who teach otherwise." It was Melanchthon who, afterwards, by changing the word "under" to "together with," and the words "are really present" to "are shown forth" formulated the doctrine of consubstantiation. Zwinglius developed the theory of a figurative presence, and Calvin adopted a middle course by maintaining that the Body of Christ present in Heaven communicated a certain virtue to the elements when received by the communicants. This Calvinistic view which Hallam calls "a jargon of bad metaphysical theology"[2] is the prevailing belief to-day among the majority of Protestants. "The English laity," says the writer of the article in the *Spectator* already quoted, "hold that the administration and reception of the Eucharist

[1] III a Pars. Q. LXXV, Art. II.

[2] Constitutional History, Vol. I, C II.

constitute a commemorative service which, having been specially instituted by Christ Himself, may, and, if the recipient is worthy, does, convey something of indefinite mystical grace. The grace is not in the bread and the wine, but in its reception in faith as an act of reverent obedience to a mandate which, coming from a divine being, must not only be wise, but beneficial. They do not attempt to define what it is that consecration effects in the case of the Eucharist, any more than they define it in a case of a cathedral, but they hold that, whatever it is, the presence and assent of the recipient is essential to its validity. The consecration of the elements in an empty church strikes them as a meaningless form, a superstitious act, a belief which at once and finally separates them from the Romanist, and would, if they were even logical, also separate them from the Lutheran. They do not, however, in most cases object to the clergyman being as to this matter a Lutheran. Their singular tolerance of almost all theological differences, due in part to ignorance, in part to their fixed, and, as we entirely admit, unphilosophical impression that the only test of truth is the conduct it produces, induces them to overlook in the clergy almost any departures from their own theories, and it is only when they hear the celebration openly called 'the mass' that they begin to grow hostile, and symptoms show themselves—the race being given to resort to force—of a latent tendency to brawl. They are, however, nearly immovable in their own view, and listen to arguments inconsistent with that view very much as if they were delivered in Latin. They do not want their own view embodied in an Act. They do not even censure their teachers for holding a different one. The capacity for feeling the *odium theologicum* has nearly died out among them, but they are, in the most placable and unpretentious way, beyond the reach of conversion. Not one of them denies a certain mystical character to the Eucharist. Not one of them questions that its reception with full reverence is a Christian obligation; but not one of them—we speak, of course, of the majority—believes in the presence during the service, of anything but a keenly felt spiritual grace. 'Means of grace' they say, and believe, but they go no farther, either towards Rome or towards Luther. Those of the clergy who hope they will, are wasting strength, as much as those lawyers who think that if they explain the real utility and function of a jury they may convince the electors that it ought to consist of less than twelve. They are singly met by the Englishman's silent but unalterable "No," which in controversies with the clergy never becomes audible unless the individual clergyman is either disliked or despised. The vices and oppressions of the clergy, rather than any change of theological opinion, produced the English Reformation."

No one will deny that this writer fairly represents the prevailing Protestant views of the Blessed Eucharist. His words give a sad picture of confusion and uncertainty, illogical, and unscriptural belief, the creature of the dogged prejudice excited and fermented by the leaders of the so-called reformation. It is heart-rending to think that such a state of belief, or rather unbelief, exists among a people who once possessed the faith, whose fathers built Salisbury and York, Westminister and Canterbury, as temples wherein to celebrate the Holy Mysteries and guard the Real Presence. And surely it would be worth considering what causes led to such a deplorable change, to the rejecting the beliefs and traditions of a thousand years and to the consequent rendering spiritually breadless and lifeless a once Christian people. We may only hint at some of these causes, the full treatment of which would entail a very long disquisition.

It is to be remarked at the outset that the originators of unbelief in the Real Presence represented no school of thought or largely spread opinion existing prior to their time. Berengarius' heretical views came as a shock to his age: so did those of Wycliffe to his. Both, of course, succeeded in gathering around them a certain number of disciples just as any able teacher, even the most extravagant, will succeed in doing. But they were not the exponents of an existing set of heretical doctrines in the same way as Dr. Temple is the exponent of actual Protestant Eucharistic ideas. The same may be said of the reformers of the sixteenth century. There is no evidence to show that the body of the people or any considerable portion of them whether in Germany or England had lost faith in the Blessed Eucharist, when Zwinglius and Calvin and Cranmer and the others hurled forth their denunciation of the belief of ages. The late Cardinal Manning used to say that the faith was stolen from the people of England. This is particularly true of their faith in the Blessed Eucharist. The history of the Reformation in England clearly shows that the changes affecting the sacrifice of the Mass and Holy Communion were introduced and carried out most cautiously at first. The change from the Latin Missal to the English rendering of it known as the Book of Common Prayer was nothing very striking in the eyes of a people who were but poorly instructed in liturgical matters. The distribution of Holy Communion was, to the eyes of the common people, kept up as before; and they had no occasion to doubt that they were receiving at the communion service the same Bread of Life that their fathers had received. Nor can it be a matter of surprise that the people were thus hoodwinked in this grave matter. There were certain predisposing causes of their ignorance and lukewarmness. Dr. Gasquet,

in his learned work—*Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*—emphasises the fact that the clergy were decimated by the Black Death and the Wars of the Roses to such an extent that the Bishops were often forced to ordain mere boys to minister to the most pressing spiritual needs of the people. There was very little instruction given; services were discontinued in many churches. The benefices were mostly occupied by university men, who cared but little for the common folks, and who occupied themselves more with intellectual pursuits than with the cultivation of piety. Dean Colet, the illustrious founder of St. Paul's School, London, (1510) is a case in point. It is related of him[1] that he considered week-day masses superfluities, that he said Mass himself only on Sundays and festivals, as he considered his time better spent in preparing his sermons. The statutes that he drew up for his school enjoined that Mass should be said daily for the scholars in a chapel adjoining their study hall, but they were to pay attention to only a part of it—from the *sanctus* to the elevation—when they were supposed to kneel; during the rest of the Mass they were to go on with their studies. It is clear that such training was not calculated to develope knowledge of, or esteem for, the Holy Sacrifice. Dean Colet has had his reward. The school that he founded and endowed has been a stronghold of anti-Catholicism for well-nigh four hundred years.

But while these predisposing causes may be put forth in palliation of the breakdown of faith in the Blessed Eucharist, on the part of the common people, far different causes must be sought for to explain the bitter, the diabolical hostility of the leaders of the sixteenth century revolt against the time-honored doctrine and practice of the Holy Eucharist. One would think that they should have been satisfied with breaking away from Rome and nationalizing their churches. They might have done so and preserved, though in schism, like the Greeks and Russians, the Real Presence and the entire sacramental system. It was surely no love of truth or of beauty or of godliness that led them to hush the throb of ages, Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God of Hosts! that had resounded in harmonious unity for a thousand years in millions of sanctuaries ushering in the sacred Consecration and Elevation of the Lamb of God. It was no love of truth that led them to replace the direct teaching of scripture and tradition by their own discordant, illogical theories which are comprehensive only in negation. It was no love of godliness that led them to do away with the shriving and fasting of ages, and set up instead the immoral doctrine of "sin as you please, but believe." Yea, rather, it was the absence of all these,

[1] See Christian Schools and Scholars, p. 685.

especially of the last, that led them to pull down the great institution of divine mercy and love. The demands made on self-denial and self-humiliation by the sacrament and sacrifice of the Eucharist as understood by the Church supply one of the chief causes of the intense hostility shown towards it by the leading so-called reformers. It is especially against the Holy Sacrifice—the "Popish Mass," "the hellish superstition," as they continually called it, that their bitterest darts were directed. And why? Chiefly, because the Real Presence and the Mass entailed three practices exceedingly inconvenient for the reformers' ideas of godliness: auricular confession, fasting and celibacy. Belief in the Real Presence carries with it the practice of confession and penance. How believe that the Immaculate Lamb of God, infinitely holy, is made present by the words of consecration, is lifted up, is consumed, is distributed by the Priest, and not believe that a purging from sin, a proving of oneself through the sacrament of Penance is necessary for both the celebrant and the communicant? "Therefore whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord. But let a man prove himself: and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the chalice. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, not discerning the body of the Lord."[1] It was logical for those who felt towards the Sacrament of Penance the same bitter hostility that Dr. Temple displays, in a part of this charge to which we have already referred, to do away with the Real Presence and the sacrifice whose existence implied the obligation of cleansing and purifying the soul, so as to discern the body of the Lord.

The fasting and celibacy enjoined on the ministers of the Holy Sacrifice especially struck in the unctuous nostrils of Luther and his associates. Yet, even more than confession, fasting and celibacy were so blended with the offering up of the "clean oblation" throughout the ages in the Latin Church that it would be a hopeless undertaking to accustom the people to postprandial and nuptial Masses. And so the Mass must go, and with it the fasting and celibacy. What a turning away from history and tradition! What a denial of the Holy Ghost was here! The best efforts of the Church founded by Christ had been spent during fifteen hundred years to guard and save the sacramental system instituted by her founder, and to provide a choice ministry for the sacrament of sacraments—the Eucharist. For this she had made repeated sacrifices; for this she had resisted tyrants; for this she had stemmed

[1] 1 Cor. xi, 27, 28, 29.

the tide of corruption; for this she has proclaimed through Gregory VII—"Perish all rather than the celibacy of the clergy!"

She knew that she was making severe demands on flesh and blood, but she felt that the sublime ministry of the Eucharist required it; and she felt, too, that the Paraclete was with her to illuminate and strengthen those chosen to be other Christs—other mediators between God and man. And her divinely inspired legislation triumphed. Her celibate Priesthood has been, and is, and will be till the end of time, her most brilliant ornament in the eyes of angels and of men. And all this—penance, fasting, and celibacy—was to be done away with, to make way for a new god, or, rather, the old one against whom St. Paul warned his beloved Philippians—the god of sensuality and lust, the god—to use the apostle's own words—of the belly. No wonder that the Sacrament and the Sacrifice had to disappear; no wonder, too, that the official legatees of that overthrow and its hereditary beneficiaries such as Dr. Temple should still glory in that which has brought to them, to their wives, and to their progeny, wealth and comfort, whilst it has robbed God's little ones of the Bread of Life. This overthrow was not, as we have already intimated, the people's doing. It was the work of the conniving Luthers and Cranmers who had their own ends to serve, and stopped short of nothing neither of falsehood nor fraud to secure them. The people were robbed; the Real Presence, the Holy Sacrifice, the Priesthood were gone before they knew of it.

The marks of this loss by the people, of the great crime of the reform leaders have been on Protestantism since its origin. In it is fulfilled the saying of the Divine Master: "Unless you eat of the flesh and drink of the blood of the Son of Man you shall not have life in you." There is no supernatural life in Protestantism as a system. We say "as a system" for we are aware that "the Spirit breatheth where He wills," and that numerous individual souls that belong externally to Protestantism, belong really to the Spouse of Christ. It is consoling to find the *Spectator* admitting that at least one thousand of the clergy whom Dr. Temple addressed received his utterances with a pang. It is pathetic to stroll into some Ritualist Churches and see the vested priest, the lighted candles, the missal, the ceremonial of the Mass, the Benediction and Vespers, the incensing and the ringing of bells. But all in vain are these well meaning efforts made to put life into dead bones; to revive that which is irreparably lost. The authors of the loss, the perpetrators of the crime took good care to make such restoration impossible within their system. They took precautions to snap asunder the connecting link of Holy Orders, and thereby they sepa-

rated the branch from the trunk. And the apparent life which the cut off branch showed for a while in the beginning has long since died out. To-day the visitor to the olden Cathedrals of York, or Canterbury, or Dublin, finds indeed, the splendid architecture, the gothic arches and stained glass windows erected by our fathers in the faith as temples of the Blessed Eucharist. But they are mere monuments: the life is gone out of them with the sanctuary lamp. Bereft of the tabernacle and the Real Presence, they are as bodies without souls—sad memorials of the life and harmony, the warmth and worship that once filled their every aisle and transept with the incense of the great Sacrifice, and the heavenly joys of real, substantial communion with God.

But parallel with these sad, pathetic thoughts arise many consolations. Right under the shadow of the Cathedrals stolen from the Blessed Eucharist arise, as for instance in Canterbury and elsewhere, temples of the Real Presence and the Holy Sacrifice. In England and Ireland and Germany, and in almost all other heresy-afflicted countries the God of the tabernacle has found two homes for every one from which He was driven out. Devotion to the Blessed Sacrament has spread more and more each succeeding generation since the great catastrophe of the sixteenth century. There was probably never an age since the very earliest in which frequent Communion was more generally practised than at present. The devotion known as the "Forty Hours" is so universally established that there is Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament throughout the world. Add to this the numerous confraternities such as that of the "Perpetual Adoration and Work for poor Churches," the golden jubilee of which is being celebrated this year. It is certain that never in the history of Christianity did so many hearts beat and so many hands work in unison for the veneration of the Blessed Eucharist and the adornment of the Tabernacle and Sanctuary as at the present day. And never, too, were the ministers of the Sanctuary, the Priests of the new Sacrifice of such high, unblemished character, of such zeal and self-denial. They live now, for the most part, not of the state or of endowments, but of the Gospel, by the sweat of their brow, and the aching of their heart. They have to watch long vigils preparing souls to receive worthily; they have to fast long fasts to minister unto the multitude crying for Bread.

In new countries as in old there is the same upspringing of renewed devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, of outspoken faith in the Real Presence, of unshaken confidence in the efficaciousness of the Holy Sacrifice. The discovery of new lands, the spreading of the race have but enlarged the domain of the Blessed Eucharist. In

America and Australia, though state cannons do not boom nor official uniforms blaze at the Sacramental Processions, free hearts are not slow to open up in love, free minds are not ashamed to bow down in reverence. Still more, these new discoveries, and the spread of devotion to the Blessed Eucharist have rendered actual the prophesy of Malachy.[1] "From the rising of the sun even to the going down, my name is great among the Gentiles. And in every place there is sacrifice, and there is offered to my name a clean oblation, for my name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord of Hosts."

It is in presence of the unbelief of the majority of those outside the Church, in presence of the wavering unscriptural, untraditional, illogical views of the vast body represented by the Archbishop of Canterbury; in presence of the yearnings after truth and life of so large a number known as Ritualists that our Catholic hearts should swell up to overflowing with gratitude to God for the gift of faith and of faith's great mystery, with gratitude to the Church that has preserved through weal and woe, mid peace and mid persecution the Sacrament and the sacrifice of the Eucharist, and with gratitude to all those who have been instruments in preserving for us or in breaking to us the "Living Bread that came down from heaven."

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IMPERIALISM AS A POLICY FOR AMERICA.

"IN war it is the unexpected which always happens." This proverb has been verified in our late war with Spain. Beginning with the object of ending the colonial rule of Spain in Cuba on professedly humanitarian grounds, it has ended with a sudden desire among many Americans to put ourselves in Spain's place as a colonial ruler. Congress began the war with a solemn declaration that no territorial expansion was desired by this country; the President would end it by the seizure of territory five thousand miles from our shores and wholly unconnected with the American continent, as well as of Puerto Rico.

A section of the American and the whole of the English press

[1] I, II.

have suddenly discovered that the United States needs colonies for the proper development of her energies, and that she should follow the example of European powers by seizure as much as possible of the territory of weaker nations anywhere and everywhere. To that theory we absolutely object, on the grounds of both morality and national policy, and even on the score of material interests, if the interests of the whole nation, and not those of a small class, are to be regarded. The corner-stone of our form of government, which every true American citizen regards as our greatest national blessing, is the right of the whole people to govern themselves, not as subjects either of monarchy or aristocracy, but as citizens sharing equally in a common country. Once let the principle of privileged classes among the population ruled by our institutions be recognized, and the idea of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people is virtually destroyed. We believe no material profit could compensate for such a loss to the people of these United States.

One of the clearest facts of history is the instability of free republican governments. The advantages of such institutions for the general advancement and prosperity of mankind have been universally recognized, since the days of Aristotle and Plato, throughout the European races. The enthusiasm for free governments of the people was as strong in Greece and Italy twenty-five hundred years ago as it is to-day in America; yet through eighty generations of civilization despotic, not republican, government has been the common system of rule. Republican Athens has been recognized for over twenty centuries as the highest example of intellectual and political development yet seen in the world. But Athens passed under despotism in a few generations. The Italian republics of the middle ages stood at the front of Europe, both in intellect and in prosperity; but they, too, had to exchange their freedom for a system which dwarfed their promise. The citizens of these states knew the value of their freedom as clearly as we do ours; but they failed to preserve it, mainly through faults in their own conduct. In the very time of the revival of learning and the discovery and colonization of America, absolute governments succeeded republican institutions through nearly all Europe.

This strange fact was deeply impressed on Washington and his fellow statesmen when they formed the constitution under which the United States has lived and thriven for a hundred and twenty years. The public opinion of Europe had almost unanimously decided that republican institutions could not long exist in any large community. The lawyers and thinkers of England especially regarded a mixed form of government in which a limited representa-

tion of the people shared power with a permanent hereditary executive monarch as the ideal of a free government. The States of Holland were a republic in name, but the House of Orange had furnished it with hereditary sovereigns under the name of Stateholders for over a hundred years. The statesmen of the newly-freed colonies knew by experience how little security for personal freedom was given by the Parliamentary Monarchy of England. For the sake of freedom they had risked life and property to shake off the connection with England, and they had given up all part in the growing British Empire and the material advantages to individual Americans that might be expected from that connection. In choosing republicanism as the form of government for the new American nation they were well aware of the causes which had overthrown so many other republics. They guarded America against them as best they could; and Washington has left as his best legacy to this country the policy of avoiding all foreign wars and military establishments. It was mainly through militarism that the republics of former days had lost their freedom. Florence had extended her dominions over Tuscany, only to lose her own freedom to the House of Medici. Venice became a close oligarchy after she had seized the spoils of Constantinople and filled the Egean Sea with her garrisons in conquered lands. Foreign wars had made the Princes of Orange sovereigns over free Holland. The framers of our constitution decided that freedom was more precious than empire, and that military force was incompatible with freedom. They therefore reduced the standing army to the limits of a frontier police force. While petty States like Hesse and Sardinia were keeping up large standing armies as a State necessity, the American Republic, with territory equal to France, Germany and Italy, was satisfied to trust its defence to three thousand soldiers and the loyalty of its citizens. When Aaron Burr, the jingo statesman of the day, projected the conquest of Mexico, his scheme was indignantly rejected and himself tried for treason. Freedom at home, peace abroad, was the policy laid down for the United States in its infancy.

Following out that policy, while the whole of Europe was convulsed with strife during the period of the Napoleonic wars, the young republic remained in peace alone among civilized nations. That its strength was ample for self defence was proved by the war of 1812, when England, flushed with her naval supremacy, attempted to avenge her defeat in the American Revolutionary War. In the main, those two principles have been since maintained by the American people, and their wisdom has been justified by the experience of over a century. The republican institutions established a hundred and twenty years ago have continued to work, and under

them the country has enjoyed a larger share of material prosperity than has fallen to the lot of any other nation. Republican governments have been tried by several European nations during that time, but the great majority of them have withered away, and their failure mainly came from the very causes foreseen by Washington and his fellow-statesmen. The conquests of the first French Republic, which for a time promised the overthrow of monarchy throughout Western Europe, resulted directly in the despotism of Napoleon. Both England and France, and latterly Germany, have sought aggrandizement during the century by the seizure of outlying lands, but neither England nor France has equalled the domestic prosperity of the United States. The lesson is not one to be forgotten by thinking men in the excitement of a moment.

It should be remembered also that there is no danger from outside interference to the continuance of this policy of freedom at home and peace abroad. Since the last war with England no foreign power has threatened the shores of the United States. Every other civilized nation has lived during those eighty years in more or less immediate peril of foreign war. For the last twenty years all Europe has been almost an armed camp, in daily dread of a deadly conflict. A reckless minister or a burst of popular excitement may at any moment precipitate France or Germany into war, to the death of either nation. A couple of sentences interpolated in a State paper by Bismarck and the imprudence of a French Ambassador brought on the Franco-Prussian War. Under such conditions it is impossible for individual States to secure themselves against the dangers of military despotism at home even in time of peace. The career of the late General Boulanger, in France, is a striking example. From such dangers the United States alone is free. How rare this privilege is, for any nation, history tells. Since the European nations had a history there is no other instance of a great nation so absolutely free from danger of outside war for nearly a whole century. Every other free government has had to give the greater part of its energies to defence against outside aggression, while America alone has been left free to develop its social form and material interests. This is not a privilege to be lightly thrown away.

The desire now so widely expressed to make Imperialism the policy of the United States, after experience of the advantages of the long-tried system of freedom at home, peace abroad, recalls the demand made by the Jews of old on Samuel: "Make us a King to judge us as all nations have." The policy of European States seems preferable to many Americans to the policy of Washington. The last twenty-five years have been marked by an exceptionally

active scramble for foreign possessions on the part of the European powers. The rights of the natives, even where well established governments have been long recognized, have been wholly disregarded. A German fleet seized the Samoan King without the shadow of a grievance, and carried him away prisoner to the Gilbert Islands, on the sole ground that Germany desired the territory of his people. Captain Lugart turned his Maxim guns on the Christians of Uganda, and Mr. Rhodes slaughtered the Matabeles for no better reason. Italy seized a territory on the Red Sea and proclaimed her sovereignty over Abyssinia for the simple reason that she desired some foreign territory. The English Government bombarded Alexandria when the Egyptian people attempted to reform the rule of the Khedive, and followed up the exploit by taking possession of Egypt itself, with no other justification than that such were English interests. Burmah was seized in the same way a few years later, and it was only the marksmanship of the Boers of the Transvaal that saved that little republic from the same fate. Republican France has been equally unscrupulous in Tunis and Madagascar.

The public conscience of the civilized world has undergone a marked deterioration in the point of respect for the rights of weak nations during the last twenty-five years. When Napoleon acquired Savoy from Victor Emmanuel in 1860 he felt it necessary to take a vote of its population before completing the annexation. It was demanded by the public sentiment of Europe then that men should not be transferred from one rule to another like slaves without their own consent. The statesmen of Bismarck's school who rule in Europe to-day are wholly indifferent to such considerations. Bismarck himself suggested to the late French Emperor that he should seize Belgium and incorporate it with France, while Prussia similarly made an end of Holland's independence. "We are both a pair of wolves, and should act like such," was the cynical comment of the future Chancellor of the German Empire. In Africa and Asia the rulers of Europe are unblushingly acting on Bismarck's theory. It rather aggravates than lessens the guilt of their conduct when it is excused by cant. When English statesmen impose a swindling debt on Egypt by brute force and wring its payment from the fellaheen by a corps of English tax gatherers, they describe it as giving the land a civilized administration. The butchery of thousands of wounded natives on the field of Omdurman is "a triumph of civilization," and discharging a duty to humanity. The frank brutality of a Bismarck or a Mouravieff is less objectionable than the hypocrisy of their English rivals. That lawless aggression is so readily glorified and so seldom condemned is an

ominous sign of the decay of public conscience in the civilized world to-day.

It is not a pleasant reflection that a number of Americans should choose the piratical policy of Europe in preference to the peace policy of Washington; yet such is undoubtedly the case to-day. It is one of the motives which causes the cry for the new Imperialism. The lowering of the standard of public morality in national affairs has extended to America as well as Europe and, politically considered, it is far more dangerous here than there. A democratic government depends for its very existence on a spirit of respect for right among its citizens. Jailers may keep perfect external order among a crowd of criminals or lunatics, but a free community must be its own guardian. A Turkish Sultan or a Russian Czar like the first Peter may be himself indifferent to all morality and yet keep his subjects within strict bounds of conduct. A republic which is really such has no such power. If the public conscience of its citizens be demoralized, its rulers will be demoralized too. The pride of nationality and the routine of long established institutions are not enough to secure stability for governments which depend on the free will of their citizens. They are the common inheritance of every civilized and even of most uncivilized nations. The attachment of a Russian peasant or a Turkish soldier to his State and its ruler is as strong a feeling as that of the average American to his country and its institutions. Yet it alone is powerless to maintain order in the State without a strong government. The only substitute for a strong government that can preserve a republic is the common conscience of its people. Any course of public action which sets might above right aims directly at the existence of democratic government.

The French Revolution and subsequent events are a striking object lesson of the changeableness of national sentiment with regard to government. For two centuries France had been the most stable as well as one of the most powerful of European States. Louis XIV. was the model King for the other nations of Europe, and Frenchmen for half a dozen generations felt intense patriotic pride in the institutions which they regarded as the triumph of civilization. Three years of agitation changed the sentiment to hate and overthrew the whole organization of the State by the hands of its hitherto devoted subjects. The Lilies of France had been for two centuries identified as closely with French popular feelings as the Stars and Stripes are to-day with American patriotism, yet in three years they were regarded as a badge of slavery. The lesson is instructive for a good many in this country. It was not a period of foreign war or external defeat that brought this change in the public mind

of France. Louis XVI. had humiliated the English rivals of his country for the first time in a century just before the outbreak of the Revolution. The change came from within; it was in the public ideas, not in the national strength for war or the nation's material wealth.

It is in the possibility of similar changes of ideas that the chief danger to the free institutions of America lies to-day. The accumulation of wealth, the increase of population and the modern science which has substituted machinery so largely for human labor have changed the social character of the American people more rapidly in two generations than France changed in two centuries. In the cultivation of the land, once the common employment of nearly all the population, modern machine labor is displacing the small farmer as steadily as slave labor in the old world turned the gardens of the free Roman citizens into the estates of a few nobles. In trade the concentration of capital and the fierce competition for profit is acting similarly on the small independent traders. An ever-increasing number of citizens find that working for wages is the only means of obtaining a living, and that such work is growing harder to find year by year. The accumulated wealth of the country is growing faster than ever, but the amount of that wealth, which is concentrated in the hands of a few, is proportionately far greater than that which is distributed among the workers. The increase of pauperism is as marked as the increase of wealth in America at the end of the nineteenth century.

The new conditions of life have brought new difficulties into the task of popular government. The workers in the different fields of organized labor are banded together by similar occupations and similar needs into associations which tend to become more powerful than the common government, or at least to command more attachment from large bodies of citizens. The railroad employes, alone, count over a million of men; the hired mine workers are little fewer, and other industries, too numerous to reckon here, count their followers by hundreds of thousands, all depending for their daily bread on the action of a small number of capitalists. The latter on this side are banding together on a gigantic scale for their own material interests. The growth of "trusts" accompanies the growth of labor unions. The Oil Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Whiskey Trust, the Iron Trust and the Copper Trust are powers as great as any of the old feudal nobles of Europe in the political world. While the popular vote is taken but once in years, the influence of the trusts and organized capital on the course of legislation and law, as well as the administration of government, is unceasing, and it is steadily and intelligently applied to its own definite ends, while temporary ex-

citements are liable at any time to turn the course of a majority of voters at the polls. The feeling of resentment, stirred up by this increasing political power of capital, is even more dangerous than the actual harm done. When hard times accentuate the discontent of the working masses they show an increasing tendency to distrust the value of government in securing them justice against their employers. The struggle between labor and capital is one of the serious dangers of the future to free institutions.

The strikes of the last few years show how readily the latent feeling of discontent among the laboring class may be developed into hostility to the government itself. It showed itself as hostile to the whole system at Chicago, and on a less definite but still formidable basis it showed itself in the scenes of bloodshed at Pana and Virdin last year, and at Carnegie and Cripple Creek a few years ago. The railroad strike, directed by Mr. Debs, as a mark of sympathy with the employes of the late George Pullman, in Illinois, did not hesitate at stopping the mail service of the general government or taking the lives of United States soldiers. Deeply as such action is to be regretted, it is not force alone that can prevent its recurrence. The perpetuity of our government can only be secured if the unjust encroachment of capital are as steadily repressed as the violence of excited labor. It can only stand by even-handed justice to all citizens and the loyalty which believes that such will be attained best by freedom within law.

What would be the effect on the relations of labor and capital in our own land of the adoption by the United States of a colonial policy, at variance with its traditions, and involving the existence of subjects as well as citizens under its flag? It would increase the relative power of capital in our government and lessen respect for equal rights to all among our citizens at large. The value of cheap labor in controlling the trade of the world is well known to the employers of America. Could they secure the labor prices of Asia for the working of American machinery and ideas it would be easy to undersell any other nation. Unfortunately this underselling would benefit the wealthy alone among Americans. The experience of other nations has shown that while tropical possessions may bring in revenue, it is for the benefit of the few, not the many at home. It was so with French Hayti, with Dutch Java, and with British India. Should the Philippines be treated by this country as Holland now treats her subject islands in the Eastern Seas, some favored ones might draw large fortunes from plantations or mines, but the great bulk of our population would only share increased taxation. The islands lately ruled by Spain offer no field for the American laboring man's industry. Cuba is to-day as densely peo-

pled as Michigan; Puerto Rico more densely peopled than Massachusetts. The Philippines, with a smaller area than California, have six times its population. The tropics afford no field of employment for white labor, even if the native element did not already exist there. In none of the tropical possessions of England or France, even such as were uninhabited when first occupied, has any large European population been able to establish itself. Jamaica has been an English possession since the days of Cromwell, yet today not five per cent. of its population belong to the white race. A similar tale may be told of all the English and French West Indies. In Cuba and Puerto Rico alone is a white population found in the majority. In Asia and Africa a similar result has followed colonization. Mauritius has scarcely twenty thousand whites among its four hundred thousand inhabitants; Java and the Dutch East Indies have still less; and in India itself, after a hundred and thirty years of English dominion, the whole British population was barely one hundred thousand by the last census. It is evident that none of the new possessions will furnish any outlet for the working population of this country.

The possible gain to be looked for, then, in a policy of foreign conquest is simply the creation of more large fortunes among American citizens, and this coupled with an enlarged foreign trade. The latter is at best doubtful; the former is distinctly undesirable, in a broad American view. The national wealth, which has been accumulated during the century, is sufficient for all national wants. Its distribution, more generally, is the urgent problem. We have no more need for more millionaires than Europe has for more nobles. On the other hand, a colonial empire would greatly increase the burthens of the citizens at home. Armies and navies are expensive luxuries. They have cost Europe during the present century an average of over a thousand million dollars a year. Our own small force cost last year no less than eighty-three millions. An army of twenty-five thousand men involved a cost of forty-eight millions, the support of a navy, manned by sixteen thousand, required thirty-four millions. The forces that would be called for by a foreign empire would add a hundred millions annually to the national burthens. Increased taxation at home, increased competition in the labor market, and opportunities for accumulating a certain amount of large fortunes for individuals are the material results to be looked for from a policy of foreign empire by the American people.

The increased patronage which such a policy would place at the disposal of the President and administration must not be forgotten among its inevitable results. The experience drawn from the workings of the Indian Bureau does not warrant any hope that such an

increase would work for political purity at home, even if the cost of our colonial administrators were defrayed by the subject races.

The eagerness with which British politicians and writers are urging on Americans the propriety of joining in the general game of landgrabbing is not calculated to make that policy more attractive to thinking men. We know by experience what the feelings of Great Britain are towards us as a people. It was shown when Admiral Cockburn burned the Capitol and the Congressional Library at Washington, when that city was entered by the British troops. It showed itself during the civil war, when Confederate cruisers, fitted out in English ports, drove our commerce from the ocean. The effusive friendship of a politician like Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in proclaiming an Anglo-Saxon brotherhood as the heart's longing of British rulers is amusing in its hypocrisy. The calls on America to seize land wherever she can, as England has done, and the calm assumption that aggression is justifiable wherever there is money in it, will hardly win much sympathy here. Mr. Dicey, in the *Nineteenth Century*, frankly says: "In the Imperialist movement, which has led the United States to embark on a career of annexation, I see the prospect of gain rather than loss *to my own country*." The same writer sums up the justification of the war by the remark that "Then, too, to the Anglo-Saxon mind the spectacle of a wealthy and fertile country being in the hands of owners who are unable to utilize its advantages, infallibly suggests the reflection, how much better it would be for all parties concerned if the country were taken away from its actual occupants and transferred to hands better suited to develope its resources." On precisely the same principle a pirate "reflects how much better it is" that the crew of a captured ship should walk the plank and the utilization of its cargo be transferred to his own stronger hands. We do not believe that the people of the United States are prepared to take the code of the buccaneer for their guide in preference to the policy of a Washington.

The vision of England and America uniting in a career of conquest "in the interests of humanity" seems too grotesque for serious discussion, yet it is now held up to the American people, not only by the rulers of England but by a section of the American press. The new aristocracy of wealth, as it likes to style itself, which has grown up in America, has for years shown a strong desire to amalgamate with the old aristocracy of Great Britain. The new York *Review of Reviews* speaks of the prospective marriages of four American heiresses to British peers as "charming links" in the "Anglo-Saxon Union," which is to reduce the world to bondage. Mr. Astor and Mr. Bartlett have found the position of British subjects preferable to plain American citizenship. During Grant's first

administration a number of wealthy men in New York started a paper, *The Imperialist*, to advocate the change of our government to the model of the then French Empire. The same spirit now finds expression in the call for an "Imperialist" policy in conjunction with Great Britain. American democracy is too "vulgar" for the tastes of the "Four Hundred" and their fellows throughout the country. Fortunately for our institutions, it is not likely to be shared by the great body of the American people, even though it find advocates in a hired press.

The material gains promised by an English alliance offer scarcely more substance than the moral ones. The advantages to be reaped from Asiatic trade in conjunction with England may be fairly estimated from what our trade now is with the East Indies and China. In 1897 the whole volume of our exports to India was under four million dollars, and our imports about twenty. To China we sent about eighteen millions of American products and received over twenty millions in return. Before the last insurrection in Cuba our trade with that island reached a total of a hundred and ten millions —nearly five times our commerce with the two hundred million people of British India. It is not easy to reconcile this fact with the glib assertions of the English and pro-English press of the incapacity of the Spanish race to develop its foreign settlements; but a reference to our treasury statements will show its perfect accuracy. It is not of a kind to warrant even on the most selfish grounds any effort on our part to extend English dominions in Asia or guarantee their continuance.

Indeed it is impossible for any one to see what gain this country can reap from entering on a career of foreign aggression for the help of England. Should the latter power become involved in war with Russia, Germany or France the effect on the carrying trade of America would be the same as our own civil war had on the commerce of England. There is no fear that any of the other powers would seek to interfere in our concerns. France, last century, helped us to our independence, and she extended our territory freely a few years later by the cession of Louisiana. Russia has never wavered in her friendly attitude towards our government, its "Anglo-Saxonism" has not kept England from burning Washington in 1812 and destroying our commerce by so-called Confederate cruisers during our Civil War. When the admirers of England recall the victories of Waterloo and Trafalgar as the "common inheritance of the 'Anglo-Saxon race,'" we cannot forget that Yorktown and New Orleans are glorious memories of the American people. For us to enter on a career of foreign aggression in behalf of England would be to imitate those who in the strong language

of Grattan "went for their policy to Bedlam and for their morality to Satan."

The policy of avoiding foreign conquests has not only given us a greater prosperity at home than has fallen to any other nation, but it has put us politically in the front of all. For England to engage in war with us would mean the starvation of her people, and in all likelihood the loss of her empire throughout the world, at the hands of her rivals. For either Germany or France to do so would inevitably make the other our active ally; and with Russia there is no possibility of a conflict. All this has been attained without an effort, by simply as a nation attending to our own affairs. Would the lordship of Asia make ourselves either more free or more prosperous, or would it develop new virtues in our people? If not, why should we attempt it at the sacrifice of our best traditions?

B. J. Clinch.

THE FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTE.

One of a large number of ancient hagiographical questions to which recent researches have imparted interest in certain circles, is that of the celebrated group of martyrs known as the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, who are commemorated in the Roman calendar on the tenth day of May. The Greek text of their Acts was published a short while ago, and, almost simultaneously, there was exhumed, from ponderous folios wherein it had peacefully slept, a document entitled *The Testament of the Forty Martyrs*, which, as we shall see, is deserving of more consideration than it has heretofore received.

Apart from the Testament, which we shall discuss later on, the documents by the light of which the history of these heroes is wont to be studied may be divided into two groups: The Acts of their martyrdom in their divers forms, and the homilies of the Fathers on the Forty Martyrs. These sources are of very unequal value; and it is important to weigh their mutual relations. We shall begin with a word or two on the Acts.

Bollandus published three narratives of the martyrdom of our saints. The first of these were the ancient *Acta*, translated into Latin from the Greek; the second, also translated from the Greek,

was the work of John, a deacon of Naples; the third was an abridged *Passio*, translated from the Armenian. An ancient Slav text has been made public by Miklosich.[1] Finally M. R. Abicht has brought to light the Greek text, concerning which much has been said, but which no one had ventured to publish.[2]

Without entering into details, which would be here out of place, we shall merely state that this *Passio* may be regarded as the prototype or source of the preceding narratives, and that our remarks concerning it are applicable to all the documents previously enumerated.

The *Acta* of the Forty Martyrs in their actual shape are not an historical document. Though it is not quite improbable that more ancient *Acta* may have served as their foundation, nevertheless the original source has been completely disfigured by the fabulous embellishments and developments with which it has been overladen. Hence Ruinart has excluded the narrative from his collection of Acta Sincera, and the critics are unanimous in approving his decision. We shall content ourselves for the present with drawing attention to certain questionable features of the document. The author of the *Passio* professes to know and gives the names of the Forty Martyrs. According to him, the scene is placed in Sebaste during the persecution of Licinius, under the governor Agricolaos, who condemns the martyrs to be exposed naked on a frozen pool. Their bodies are burned, and the ashes cast into the river. But, instead of being swallowed by the waters, they again coalesce; and Bishop Peter, enlightened by a revelation, devoutly recovers them at the end of three days.

If the general aspect of this anonymous narrative of the death of the Forty Martyrs is of a nature to arouse the distrust of criticism, we have a compensation in a series of documents which, although not contemporaneous, derive a high value from the characters and positions of their authors. The Forty Martyrs have enjoyed the privilege of being extolled by several of the most illustrious Fathers of the fourth century. St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Ephraim, St. John Chrysostom, and St. Gaudentius of Brescia have pronounced homilies in their honor; and since they do not confine themselves to the vague generalities of a panegyric, they enable us by piecing together the details scattered through their sermons, to reconstruct the story of the martyrs, as it was current in their several countries.

True, we must except St. John Chrysostom, whose discourse is

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[1] Vitae Sanctorum, Viennae, 1847, p. 1 et seqq. [2] Archiv fur Slavische Philologie, t. XVIII, p. 144 et seqq.

known to us only by the fragments cited by Photius in his Bibliotheca,[1] and these fragments contain no historical details.

There remain, therefore, the four homilies, those of the two brothers, Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, and those of St. Ephraim and of St. Gaudentius. The first two are the most important. These two saintly bishops, from the circumstance of their origin, from the vicinity of their home, from the particular interest which this group of martyrs had for their family, were in better position than the others to ascertain the facts. St. Basil's discourse comes first in order of time. St. Gregory of Nyssa acknowledges that he drew his inspiration from it; and both St. Ephraim and St. Gaudentius tell us expressly that they merely echo the words of the great orator. Our first occupation, then, is with the homily of St. Basil. Although it is not free from amplifications, and through the speeches put into the mouths of the martyrs are clearly nothing more than oratorical developments, it is none the less true that the sermon contains a large number of very precise facts.

According to St. Basil the forty heroes were soldiers, born in different parts of the world, all young and brave. Upon the promulgation of the edict of persecution, they went before the governor and proclaimed themselves Christians. The governor was lavish of promises and threats in his efforts to win them over. He was unsuccessful. They answered with spirit that they held in equal contempt the transient joys and ills of this mortal life, and were ready to die for their God. The furious governor invented a novel torture for these courageous Christians. The climate of that country is extremely severe, the north wind blowing with great violence. He ordered the forty confessors of the Faith to be exposed naked to the chilly blasts, in the middle of the city. The cruel sentence was heard with exultation. With mutual exhortations to constancy, the martyrs divested themselves of their garments, and calmly awaited the approach of death. They sent up this common prayer to God: "Lord, to the number of forty have we entered the arena, grant to all forty the crown. May no unit be lacking to a number which Thou hast chosen for a special purpose." A warm bath had been prepared near by for those who should wish to save themselves by renouncing Christ. One of the soldiers, losing heart, sought relief in the proffered bath; but no sooner had the hapless man touched the warm water than he expired. One of the guards, however, was favored with a vision. Angels descended from heaven distributing crowns to all, except the renegade. Moved by the sight, he declared himself a Christian, and succeeded to the place and crown of the apostate. At daybreak, they came to commit the bodies to the

[1] Cod. 274.

flames. One of the martyrs, younger and more vigorous than the others, was still breathing. He was left behind by the executioners, in the hope that he might be induced to change his views. But the mother of the youth, who was present at the scene, placed him with her own hands upon the cart with the others, exhorting him to persevere unto the end. He was burnt with his companions, and their remains were cast into the river.

Such is the history of the Forty Martyrs according to St. Basil. Many details which we should wish to know for certain are passed over by him in silence. Thus, he fails to mention the name of the persecutor. St. Ephraim names Licinius, which would be in agreement not only with the tenor of the Acta, but also with Sozomen.[1] St. Basil, moreover, does not inform us in what country the tragedy is enacted. St. Gregory of Nyssa indicates Armenia. St. Gaudentius likewise says: *milites erant isti in partibus minoris Armeniae constituti.* It has been objected that St. Gregory of Nyssa seems to imply that the martyrs suffered in his own episcopal town in Cappadocia; but Tillemont and others have met this difficulty satisfactorily.

One question which has given the critics much concern is whether the martyrs were exposed on a frozen pool, as the *Passio* asserts, or whether it were not in a town. St. Ephraim affirms that it was on a lake. The attempt has been made to obviate the difficulty by insisting that his text has come down to us only in a Greek translation, which in the present passage is by no means clear. But now that we possess, in the original text, the hymns which he composed in honor of the Forty Martyrs,[2] there is no longer any doubt that St. Ephraim believed that the martyrs were exposed on a frozen pool.

In this the holy deacon contradicts St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nyssa. St. Basil places the scene of the martyrdom in the middle of a town. St. Gregory of Nyssa seems to say that it took place in the courtyard of the public baths, which would explain quite naturally the circumstance of the warm bath prepared to shake the constancy of the martyrs. As Tillemont remarks, the two Cappadocian saints are far more credible on this point than any other witnesses. It is not, however, difficult to explain how the frozen pool found an entry into some of the narratives. They all drew their information more or less directly from St. Basil. Now, in order to give his hearers an idea of the fierceness of the cold, St. Basil says that the lake around which the town was built had become as solid as the dry land. St. Gregory of Nyssa, developing this idea, adds that men

[1] Hist. eccl. IX, 2. [2] Lamy, *S. Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones*, t. III, p. 937 et seqq.

and beasts went over it with perfect safety. Though neither of the two orators places the martyrdom on this lake, and expressly indicate another site, as St. Gaudentius well perceived, yet by a gradual and, no doubt unconscious process, the very contrary began to prevail. It is thus that the negligence of compilers often introduces into the lives of the saints details absolutely contrary to the truth. Let us remark in passing that Fr. S. Sollerius, apropos of the Life of St. Severianus[1] has devoted a special dissertation to this question of the place of martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs. He attempts to uphold, against the authority of St. Basil, the correctness of the *Passio*, but his arguments are not convincing.

We are indebted to St. Gregory of Nyssa for another interesting particular concerning our martyrs. They belonged to a legion which had already become famous in the Christian annals by saving the Roman army at a crucial moment, through the impetration of a miraculous rain. This was the Twelfth or Thundering Legion. St. Gregory's text is one of the most important witnesses in our possession regarding this celebrated event.[2] The saint echoes a local tradition of the miracle of the Thundering Legion, a tradition all the more precious because originating in the country where the miracle is said to have taken place.

This saint also supplies us with information regarding the relics of our martyrs. But before speaking of them, let us say a word about the document which bears the title, *Testament of the Forty Martyrs.*

This document was published in Greek in the year 1671, in the catalogue of the manuscripts of the imperial library of Vienna. It passed almost unperceived by the learned public, and it is curious enough to notice that the Emperor Leopold was perhaps the only man who took any interest in it. As he was unfamiliar with Greek, he asked his librarian to make him a Latin translation. This appeared, together with the Greek text, in 1778, in the new edition of Lambecius by Kollar. From that time forward no one occupied himself further with it, until M. N. Bonwetsch, at present professor in the university of Gottingen, having come upon a Slav version of it, was led to study it at closer range. Recognizing the importance of his find, he first republished the text from the Viennese manuscript, accompanying it with a German translation of the Slav and an excellent commentary.[3] M. Haussleiter next turned his attention to it, confirmed the previous editor's estimate of its value, and pointed out several details which had escaped his vigilance.[4] Lastly,

[1] *Acta Sanctorum*, Septembri, t. III, p. 357 et seqq. [2] Harnack, *Die Quelle der Berichte über das Regenwunder, Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Akademie*, Berlin, 1894, p. 835 et seqq.

[3] Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift, to. III, 1892, heft 9. [4] Ibid., heft 12.

M. Bonwetsch reverted to the document and, with the aid of new manuscripts, has given us an emended text, illustrated with an improved commentary.[1] We give in brief the purport of the *Testament.*

Meletios, Aetios and Eutychios, prisoners of Christ, salute the bishops, presbyters, deacons, confessors, and other "ecclesiastics" of the entire Christian world, and make known their wishes regarding the disposal of their mortal remains after the consummation of their martyrdom. They desire that all their relics be placed in the care of the priest Proïdos and certain other persons, in order that they may repose together in Sareim near Zela. Meletios writes this exordium in the name of all.

At this point Aetios and Eutychios, speaking for their companions, conjure the families of the martyrs not to give way to excessive grief, and carefully to fulfill their last wishes as to the disposition of their remains. When their ashes shall be gathered together, let no one retain any particle for himself, but deliver everything to the persons designated. Should any one disobey this injunction, they add, may he fail of obtaining the favors which he looks for from the possession of the relics.

The martyrs then express their solicitude for one of their number, a young man named Eunoïcus, whose tender age might probably move the persecutors to clemency. If, say they, he shall win the palm of martyrdom with us, let him repose with us. In case he should be spared, let him remain faithful to the law of Christ, in order that, on the day of the resurrection, he may enjoy the blessed lot of those whose sufferings he has shared.

Here, it seems, Meletios again takes the pen. He addresses himself to his brothers, Krispinos and Gordios, exhorting them to be on their guard against the deceitful pleasures of this world, and to hold themselves in constant readiness, by a strict adherence to the precepts of the Lord. He wishes these exhortations to be taken to heart by all the followers of Christ.

Then begins a list of salutations: "We salute the lord priest Philip, and Proelianos, and Diogenes, and at the same time the holy Church. We salute the lord Proclianos of Phydela with the holy Church and with all who are his. We salute Maximos with the Church, Magnos with the Church. We salute Domnos with his, and Iles our father; Valens with the Church." Again Meletios takes hold: "And I, Meletios, salute my relations, Lutanios, Krispos and Gordios, etc." There follow other salutations, general and particular; and finally: "We salute you, we the forty brethren united in captivity;" with the forty names. "We the forty prisoners of

[1] *Studien zur Geshichte der Theologie und Kirche*, 1897, I, 1.

Christ have signed by the hand of Meletios, one of us; we have confirmed all that has been written; for it was pleasing to us."

This is an abstract of this extraordinary document, the authenticity of which might seem, at a first glance, to be very doubtful. The principal clause, relative to the relics of the authors of the testament, betrays so strange a preoccupation, that one is prone to ask oneself if an interested motive has not impelled some unscrupulous forger to palm off the document on the holy martyrs. But this suspicion falls to the ground at the most casual study of the text. If the impostor had attempted to forge a title to the possession of a relic, his course would not have been an isolated one. But here we meet the very opposite. The Christians, and, as we shall see, they were numerous, who possessed relics of the Forty Martyrs, must have been extremely embarrassed when they read this solemn protest against a custom, which was already universal, of dividing the remains of the martyrs. Moreover, the whole conception of the document excludes the hypothesis of a mere invention. Too many of the details are drawn from the life. The touching paragraph relating to Eunoïcus, whose youth might excite the pity of the executioners; the special recommendations of Meletios to his brothers; the concluding salutations and the personal allusions running through the Testament, are all redolent of truth and nature, and would never have entered the mind of a man who was in search of a determinate aim, or who was striving after effect.

We have, then, before us an authentic writing, drawn up by martyrs who, as they attest, have already suffered for the Faith, and are in momentary expectation of the final combat. They have filled it with the saintly joy that animates them on the eve of their triumph, with the contempt of the things of a world they are about to leave, and with an ardor of truly Christian charity, which makes them solicitous for their relations and friends.

Documents like the present, with its glimpses of real life in the remote past, are exceptionally precious, and the vistas they open up are numerous. It would be difficult, without giving a sort of running commentary of the Testament of the Forty Martyrs, to treat all the questions it suggests. We shall content ourselves with noting some conclusions of peculiar interest to hagiographers.

One of the suspicious features of the *Acta* was that the Forty were mentioned by name. "We see no reason," said Tillemont, "why any importance should attach to these names. St. Basil and the other Fathers did not deem it necessary to note them down, and the writings in which they are found are not very authoritative. Popular tradition is apt to mutilate proper names, but is not in the habit of inventing them, at least in such wholesale quantities."[1]

[1] *Memoires pour servir o l'histoire ecclesiastique*, t. v, p. 519.

The animadversion of the illustrious critic has been amply justified. The forty names of the *Acta* are precisely those of the *Testament.* Did the composer of the *Passio* have this document in his hands, and draw his information from it? We doubt it. He scarcely would have forgotten to make some mention of it, and, at the very least, he would not have failed to insert in his recital some of the incidents which it contains. Be that as it may, this list of names is derived, at least indirectly, from the Testament; it comes from a good source and must be judged authentic.

There is a minor problem annexed to the list of names of the martyrs. We have noticed the special solicitude which the prisoners manifested, on the eve of their death, for one of their number, the young Eunoïcos, in the apprehension that he might not be permitted to receive the palm of martyrdom with his companions. Did the event justify their fears? One might be tempted, in support of the negative, to invoke the text of the *Passio,* where Eunoïcos is expressly mentioned with the martyrs who suffered death. It is to be remarked, however, that the writer of the *Passio* possessed, apparently, no special information about this episode; for he contents himself with transcribing the list of names, that of Eunoïcos among the others. The only proof we have that the young man really shared the torments of his companions is this, that all the traditions agree in placing the number of the martyrs at forty, and we have no warrant for supposing that Eunoïcos was the unfortunate who forfeited his crown.

As we have seen, our principal sources are silent as to the precise epoch of this martyrdom. The *Passio,* indeed, indicates the persecution of Licinius; but documents of this sort are not sufficiently reliable to be trusted without corroboration. Neither does the Testament name the persecutor. But there is no doubt as to the time when the Testament itself was written; this could only be at the epoch of the latest persecutions. Its chief passage presupposes that the worship of relics had reached a stage of development in the Eastern Church which tallies with no earlier period. There is nothing to hinder us, therefore, from accepting the date given by the anonymous recital, namely, 320.

The Testament furnishes no precise clew as to the place of the martyrdom: In fact, it suggests some difficulties. Meletios, in the name of all, demands that their remains shall be gathered at Sereim near the city of Zela. Now, if, as the text of the *Passio* asserts, the scene of the drama was Sebaste in Armenia, it is natural to inquire why the martyrs selected so remote a place. Zela was a town in Pontus. Why then should it be chosen for the place of the common sepulchre? It has been questioned whether the text of the Testa-

ment be correct in this passage, and whether we should look for the hamlet of Sereim in the neighborhood of the well known town of Zela. This point has remained obscure till the present hour.

We might further inquire whether the Testament of the martyrs reached those who were charged with its execution in time to be of use. This seems quite doubtful, in view of the future history of their venerated relics. If the document, with its energetic prohibition of the dispersion of their ashes, was actually made public, we must conclude that the desire of possessing the relics, so intense among the Christians of that age, caused them to disregard the last wishes of the martyrs.

According to St. Basil's report, the bodies of the martyrs were burnt, and the parts unconsumed by the flames were cast into the river. The compiler of the *Passio*, seeing their relics wherever he turned his eyes, essayed to solve the difficulty by devising a miracle unknown to St. Basil and his contemporaries. The remains were thrown into the river; but, instead of sinking, they floated on the waves, and gathered to one spot, where they were easily collected. St. Gaudentius of Brescia explains the occurrence in a more natural manner. He says that notwithstanding the order to throw the ashes of the martyrs into the water, the faithful were successful in obtaining portions of them or in purchasing them with money. Probably, the bones, being unconsumed in the burning, were cast into the stream, whilst the ashes became the property of the faithful. This interpretation would agree perfectly with St. Basil's account.

In effect, we cannot say that these ashes were transported to Sereim, in conformity to the intentions of the martyrs. St. Gregory of Nyssa says explicitly that the Christian world had divided their relics and that the whole earth was blessed in the possession of them. St. Basil assures us that those who held in their keeping any part of the remains of these martyrs were persuaded that they possessed them all, with the fulness of graces and favors to be expected from so great a treasure. He reverts repeatedly to this thought that they are all together, alluding most probably to the mingling which took place at the collection. "I too," says St. Gregory of Nyssa in his Third Oration on the Forty Martyrs "possess a portion of this treasure; and I have deposited the bodies of my parents by the side of the relics of these soldiers, in order that, on the great judgment day, they may rise in the company of these powerful protectors." The village wherein these relics reposed belonged to St. Gregory, and he recounts a favor obtained on the spot, through their intercession, by a soldier who had himself informed him of the occurrence; he also narrates a vision which he had seen, whilst still a layman, on the night when the first festival of the martyrs was celebrated.

In St. Basil's episcopal city of Caesarea in Cappadocia, a grand basilica stood erected in their honor *In ipsa enim maxima Cappedociae civitate quae appellatur Caesarea, ubi habent iidem beatissimi insigne martyrium.*[1] It was at Caesarea that St. Gaudentius of Brescia met the nieces of St. Basil, who had received from their uncle relics of the Forty Martyrs. This precious heirloom they had long wished to deliver to some one who should also inherit their devotion. Wherefore they were well pleased to surrender them to St. Gaudentius, who carried them back to his own country. At Brescia he built a church which he entitled, "The Assembly of the Saints," "Concilium Sanctorum" and in which he placed the relics of the Forty Martyrs and of ten other saints. The sermon which he pronounced on the day of dedication of this basilica is extant, and from it we have gleaned the preceding details.

At an early period the Forty Martyrs were celebrated in Constantinople; and Sozomen relates at considerable length the story of a lady, named Eusebia, belonging to the sect of the Macedonians, who during life kept their relics, and on the approach of death bequeathed them to some monks of her sect, with the direction to place them secretly in her coffin, above her head. Later, when a church dedicated to St. Thyrsus was constructed over the spot, the sepulchre of Eusebia was opened, revealing a casket containing the relics, enveloped in perfumes. The Empress Pulcheria caused them to be deposited in a splendid vase, and a solemn festival, at which Sozomen was present in person, was celebrated by Proclus, Bishop of Constantinople.

In the middle of the Fifth Century, St. Melania the Younger in Palestine deposited the relics of the Forty Martyrs in the church of the monastery which she had built: *Posuit vero ibi reliquias . . . . sanctorum Quadraginta qui sunt Sebastiae.*[2]

Still later, in the time of Justinian, when that Emperor re-built the Church of St. Irene, a box was discovered bearing the inscription, that it contained the relics of the Forty Martyrs. Procopius relates that the Emperor was healed of a painful malady by their application.

The Eastern Churches were at all times fervent in the veneration of their martyrs, and it were easy to multiply instances of the cult of the Forty in those regions.[4] St. Gaudentius introduced their cult into the West together with their relics. Many writers attribute to his pilgrimage the introduction of their veneration in Rome; but this is mere conjecture. It would be difficult to trace with precision

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[1] Gaudentius Brixiensis, sermo XVII. [2] *Analecta Boliandiana* t. VIII, p. 50.
[3] *De aldif.* **I, 7.** [4] Consult Smith-Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, t. II, p. 557.

the origin of the majority of the sanctuaries erected in honor of the martyrs of Sebaste in the capital of the Christian world. In the Fourteenth Century there was one in the neighborhood of the Coliseum, between the Church of St. James and that of St. Clement. Another existed until the end of the Sixteenth Century on the site now occupied by the Church *delle Stimate.* In the Thirteenth Century there was a small church dedicated to the Forty Martyrs within the precincts of the Pretorian Camp.[1] The most celebrated is that of Trastevere, built by Calixtus II, and reconstructed in the last century by the Reformed Minors of St. Peter Alcantara, who added to the original title of the Forty Martyrs that of St. Paschal Baylon, by which it is popularly known.[2]

We do not wish to conclude this study without making mention of a legend of much later date, formed upon the subject of the Forty Martyrs, and propagated by Necephoros Callisti. The Greeks commemorate, on the first of September, a group of forty female martyrs, who suffered with the deacon Ammon.[3] Their martyrdom is placed at Heraclea in Thrace. Very little is known about these martyrs, nor is this the place to discuss the meagre accounts preserved to us regarding them. But the number forty and the name of Licinius which appears in some abstracts of their *Acta,* have furnished food to many imaginations. These forty virgins have been converted into spouses of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. It is hardly necessary to say that there is absolutely no foundation in any of our sources for this invention, which is quite beyond the limits of credibility.

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Belgium.

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[1] Armellini, Le Chiese di Roma, 2d ed. p. 824. [2] Ibid., p. 663. [3] *Acta Sanctorum,* Sept. t. I, p. 156. [4] Neceph. Callist. VII, 44.

CHARLES CARROLL, OF CARROLLTON.

We are indebted to Kate Mason Rowland, who had already given to the world the biography of George Mason, for the most satisfactory presentation of the great Catholic Marylander, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, yet attempted. The work, which comes from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, covers two bulky volumes. It is a limited issue, only seven hundred and fifty volumes having been printed, the type being broken up when that number was completed. The cost of the two volumes is six dollars. After a few years they will, no doubt, be extremely valuable, owing to the small number printed. Copies of some choice portraits, and some other appropriate plates are inserted in this work.

We believe that the chief value of this biography lies in the quantity of original correspondence and extracts from publications of the period with which it deals gathered by the author. It has no pretensions to being a masterpiece of literature. Its style is plain, yet not destitute of sympathy; but it is evident that the author depended more on the fancy of her readers to construct the spiritual and intellectual side of the man she depicts, from the revelations contained in written documents, than on her own assimilation of the subject. The two great facts in Charles Carroll's long life were his love of religion and love of country. He furnished, in truth, a very remarkable example in the former respect. From his youth he was a singularly devout and scrupulously practical son of the church, in striking contrast in this respect to many of his co-religionists. His love of country and its independence was no less ardent. We believe that to do full justice to so rare a combination of private and public virtues, the most profoundly sympathetic Catholic mind and most responsive pen should be called into requisition. The dryness of some portions of this narrative dealing with the more solemn and pathetic scenes of a great life's close would be painfully apparent were it not for the relief afforded by the presentation of the thoughts and impressions of others, who, as eye-witnesses and actors in the scenes they described, were naturally more deeply imbued with the pathos of their subject and impressed with a great living personality.

We believe the effect of a good biography depends largely on the attention paid to its background, just as that of a good portrait of the Romney and Reynolds schools. There was ample scope, in the history of religious persecutions and perfidies in the Catholic settlement of Maryland, when the Protestant immigrants became numerically the stronger, for the display of the narrator's art in

furnishing apt surroundings to a picture, but it cannot fairly be said that the author bestowed too much attention on this not altogether unnecessary setting. There is no more than is barely necessary to indicate that such conditions existed, yet the careful reader will be able to gather from some of the correspondence reproduced under what conditions of injustice and irrational hatred the survivors of the early planters of the Catholic colony, the first in tolerance and generosity itself in all the country, dragged out their existence among a population inspired, as a rule, by the very antitheses of these principles and feelings.

But it would be ungenerous not to confess the impression of great diligence, fidelity and industry which no one can avoid feeling as he goes through the details which fill those bulky volumes. No labor has been spared in collecting letters and data, and every book, magazine and newspaper bearing on the Revolutionary period in connection with the career of the subject of the memoir has been carefully consulted. From the mass of correspondence gathered here we are enabled to form the picture of an American gentleman of the old school—very different, it must be confessed, from the modern one—and to note for ourselves the rigid principles of honor, the Spartan severity of heroism, the profound constitutional knowledge and the patient mastery of details in administration which distinguished some of the early fathers of the Republic—and notably Charles Carroll. And how different in accomplishments and training from even the most eminent men of the political world of to-day! Educated in Europe, fluent in several languages, versed in the highest classic literature, deeply read in English constitutional history, polished in style and charming in manner, proud to observe the public prescriptions of his religion when it was not at all popular to be a Catholic, we think when we are contemplating the portrait of the great Marylander that we are rather gazing at the counterfeit presentment of some Christian chevalier, some American "Admirable Crichton," than that of a simple Maryland gentleman. And still further, when we behold him coming to the front of the public arena when the danger which menaced public liberty through the tyranny of arbitrary rule called for a defender, and crossing swords with one of the most subtle and learned Crown lawyers of his age, in the famous controversy between "Antillon" and the "First Citizen," we are struck with the fact that constitutional polemical skill was not confined to Great Britain and Ireland. Swift's "Drapier Letters" and those of "Junius" seem to have been in Charles Carroll's mind when penning those wonderful epistles, and it must be owned that in many instances they attain a level not unworthy of those great exemplars. All through his

long life, indeed, this eminent man is found displaying this same great gift of good letter writing. His style would, no doubt, be regarded as very antiquated now, but it will not be by men of taste and erudition that it will be so esteemed. Wisdom and piety, clothed in classic elegance of construction, breathe all through his domestic letters, while those on public subjects disclose the head of the statesman able to look far ahead, as well as the heart of the impulsive patriot. But the dominant note all through that long noble life was the devout Catholic one. Charles Carroll was great in many things, but he was pre-eminently a great Catholic.

We are not left altogether to the device of "reading between the lines" when we endeavor to appraise the mental and religious fitness of the biographer for the task of measuring and depicting a great Catholic patriot. We have to note, besides a slurring over of the inexcusable persecuting intolerance of the Maryland Legislature which had ousted Lord Baltimore, a positive misstatement of fact of a very stupid character, inasmuch as it had been disproved by preceding events. In her brief reference to this overflow of the New England unfairness into the erstwhile Catholic colony, the author remarks: "The principle of religious toleration had not been accepted then, in Europe or America." The existence of the Maryland settlement was a living proof that this principle had been so accepted by the Catholic founder, the King who granted the charter, and the Catholic population who followed the fortunes of Lord Baltimore. It was no less recognized in the brief governorship of the Catholic Dongan in New York, during the period of James I., a couple of decades afterward; but these were the only instances, down to the period of the Revolution, where it obtained formal recognition outside of Pennsylvania. We are asked by the author, in extenuation of the flagrant tyranny of the Maryland interlopers, to remember, "that Spain and France were the relentless enemies of Great Britain, and members of the Roman Catholic Church in Maryland, as in the Mother country, suffered from being identified with the religious faith of the foreign foe." We may remember this, and may admit that the plea is in every particular good and valid in so far as it relates to a matter of fact. But could any confession of brutal injustice be more unqualified? In Maryland it could not be said as in England that there was any political reason for the persecution and torture of Catholic clergy and people, for Maryland and the Colonies generally were entirely out of the radius of European troubles, and only their echoes ever penetrated those almost inaccessible off-shoots of the Old World. The base ingratitude of the interlopers stands out in alto rilievo on the entablature of history, as a fact almost without parallel. We can only find an exam-

ple for it in the realm of fable. The myth of the farmer who found the frozen adder and tried to warm it into life, only to be stung by the reptile when his humane effort was successful, affords the only just parallel for the action of the immigrants who, attracted by the liberty guaranteed in Calvert's Catholic colony, swarmed into it only to subvert that noble ideal and become the persecutors and plunderers of the original settlers.

We do not know any darker or more shameful chapter in the annals of blind bigotry than those which are sought to be glossed over by the biographer of Charles Carroll. We find from the correspondence which she adduces in the course of the work how intolerable it must have been in its acute stages when Charles Carroll's father speaks several times about his intention to sell out his property and quit the American continent because of the reign of plunder and injustice, under the guise of sectarian animosity, that made the existence of every Catholic miserable. He was, like every one of his co-religionists, compelled by law to pay double the amount of taxes to which members of other denominations were liable, because it had been resolved by the Puritan House of Assembly that "Papists were bad members of the community." Plunder under this pretext was not the only reason why the elder Carroll thought of quitting the country. It had been seriously debated by the precious pack of canters who forged the penal fetters for Maryland "Papists," that children of Catholic parents should be taken from them so as to be removed from dangerous influences. Hence we cannot wonder that Catholics who had the means to quit this subverted Eden readily did so. Those whose circumstances enabled them sent their sons and daughters to Europe for their education since no facilities were available at home, and thus the adherents of the old religion failed to diminish in number in the proportion which their persecutors fondly imagined.

In 1692 the Anglican Church was formally established by law in Maryland, and a Protestant governor was sent out by William the Third to inaugurate a penal code and a reign of terror against Catholics. Enactment after enactment was introduced and passed through the local legislature, all calculated to crush Catholicism and its adherents out of the settlement founded and reclaimed from savage wildness by Catholic intellects and muscles. The crowning piece of legislation was enacted in the year 1704, under the title, "A new law to prevent the increase of Popery." This instrument codified all previous legislation, as well as capped it by some more subtle and seemingly more efficacious devices of restrictive law. The chief provisions were these: (1) No Catholic bishop or priest allowed to celebrate Mass, or exercise the ministry in any way.

(2) Unless Catholics renounced their religion they were deprived of the elective franchise. (3) Catholics were prohibited from teaching. (4) To the support of the Anglican Church Catholics were compelled to contribute. (5) Taxes were doubled on Catholic property-holders. (6) It was strongly recommended, wherever possible, that children were to be withdrawn from "the pernicious influence of Popish parents." (7) A Catholic child, by turning Protestant, could exact his share of property from his parents "as though they were dead." (8) Catholic emigrants were forbidden from entering Maryland. (9) Catholics were at last restricted to "certain parts of the towns."

Such was the atmosphere into which Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, was born, and it was because of its odious and intolerable character that his father sent him abroad for his education. He went, along with his hardly less famous cousin, John Carroll, afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore, to St. Omer's college in France, for entrance into which the distinguished pair had been prepared secretly by some devoted refugee Jesuits in their own country. Why is this dark chapter of State history skimmed over, minimized, and finally apologized for by Charles Carroll's biographer? It is not out of the generous desire to let "bygones be bygones," we fear, for the very same sentiment of ingratitude that found expression in our late war against Spain is found in the plea that "France and Spain were of the same religion" as the victims of persecution. Both these powers had shown how little they were animated by religious bigotry when the infant republic was grappling for life with the python of English tyranny. Were it not for the splendid help, in men, and ships, and money they gave, the colonists must have been annihilated, and yet, after the lapse of more than a hundred years we find the identity of their religion with that of American Catholics pleaded by an enlightened writer as an excuse for downright infamy and abuse of hospitality. The failure to develop this feature of the picture is not only morally weak, but clumsy in an artistic sense, since to the reader imperfectly acquainted with the omitted facts, or altogether ignorant of them, many passages in the correspondence adduced in the biography must appear unwarranted by past events, the creations of a distorted fancy, or puerile exaggerations.

The nobility of Charles Carroll's character was strikingly exemplified when at length the march of events made it necessary that the Catholics should be conciliated rather than persecuted. In his remarkable epistolary controversy with Daniel Dulany (the "Antillon" of the series), that artful official endeavored to rouse animosity against an antagonist whom he recognized as too able even for a

Crown lawyer by fanning the expiring embers of religious bigotry (for the identity of the two men had become an open secret by this time). To this ignoble challenge the First Citizen returned the magnanimous reply "Meminimus et ignoscimus," and so parried the sinister lunge. The axiom is justified. Catholics are always willing to forgive their persecutors, though they may not be able to forget the persecution. This is the spirit of their religion, because it is the spirit of its divine Founder.

It was this correspondence with "Antillon" which awakened Marylanders to the fact that so far from "Papists" being dangerous persons, they furnished the only champions able and daring enough to cross swords with the official agents of monarchical tyranny. So signal was the service they rendered, in putting a stop to government by governors' *sic jubeo* merely, that when the troubles of the Stamp Act arose the community spontaneously turned to Charles Carroll for guidance and defence. All thoughts of religious disqualification were ignored, and he was at once placed beside Samuel Chase, Benjamin Franklin, and other distinguished patriots to lead the popular forces in the Legislature, the field, and the council chamber. It was precisely because of his religion and because of his familiarity with the French tongue, that he was selected as one of the three commissioners sent by Congress to negotiate with the Canadian leaders for the co-operation of that country with the American revolutionists. From the correspondence reproduced telling of the journey and its events we can gather that its result might have been favorable to the revolutionists were it not for the lawlessness and want of discipline which pervaded the American troops acting on the Canadian border, and the antipathy such behavior aroused among the French Canadians.

A difficulty seemingly insuperable seems to have been presented to the author of this biography by the style and title of its subject. We meet the full description so frequently throughout each chapter that the iteration becomes tiresome. It ought to have been easy to obviate this defect. The repetition of a man's full name and address so frequently throughout any other sort of literary work would not fail to create an impression of satire. Of course such a thing is not dreamed of in this case. But no reader can fail to be struck by the awkwardness of the course adopted. By referring to the subject of the memoir simply as Carroll, after the introductory portion of the work, the reader's nerves would have been spared the jarring effect of an oft-repeated combination which even singly is by no means euphuistic. The fact that Charles Carroll himself chose to add his address to his signature had no binding force on anybody undertaking to present his biography. He adopted the course for

a very good reason. Many Carrolls besides his immediate circle were settled in Maryland, some near neighbors, and some bearing his identical name. For legal and business purposes, and other reasons, it was necessary to add this means of identification. The author treats the legend of the address being added to the signature on the Declaration of Independence simply because he was twitted by the others on attaching his name merely as an invention. The evidence of his thoroughness, his determination to go through with the work to which he in common with the other patriots of the Revolution had put his hand, as furnished in the voluminous correspondence adduced in this work, dispels any doubt of the character of the man. He signed his name and his address, not in any spirit of bravado or pique, but simply as he had been in the habit of signing it for several years that he might not be mistaken for anyone else of the same name.

Mr. Gladstone, in defending his Irish Home Rule Bill, declared that the problem connected with the representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament was "beyond the wit of man." We are entitled to believe that to Charles Carroll it would not have presented so insoluble a riddle. To him fell the task of drafting the plan for the composition of the Maryland Senate and the mode of electing its members. The problem was quite as bewildering a one, under the circumstances. His plan elicited the warm admiration of James Madison, Dugald Stewart, and several other eminent authorities on Constitutional law. There is no doubt that to the same keen and bold intellect was attributable the framework, if not the very language, of a large portion of the Declaration of Rights. While he was serving his country thus signally in the chair of the lawmaker, he was no less active in the arrangement of its military enterprises and the provision for its defense on sea and land. As a member of the War Board he was always at his post when work was to be done, and his foresight and strategic knowledge, as displayed in the correspondence and the recorded results of the military operations appear surprising for a man who had only a literary and a legal training. We can easily understand how a mind stored with historical and constitutional literature, the result of years of systematic study, might find congenial employment in the devising of a system of orderly government adaptable to new conditions, political and social; but it is hard to explain how one trained in such a way could as readily betake himself to the solution of problems connected with campaigns and the supplying of men and military stores and the general *impedimenta* of armies on the march and performing garrison duty in far-distant portions of the territory. But there is no doubt that to all these responsible and dissimilar duties Charles

Carroll applied himself as he was called upon by his countrymen at the different phases of the revolutionary struggle to do. We are a versatile and many-sided people in these present days, but in the period under review the system of a multiplicity of employment was not in vogue; as a general rule the shoemaker stuck to his last. Charles Carroll had no difficulty in serving his country in the legislative chamber and the field, and at the same time presided over the business of his own large estate, looking after its orderly management, its material prosperity, and its moral welfare, with as much method and assiduity as one of the old Roman nobles of the Caesarian period. This excellent business habit he inherited from his father, to whom he was indebted also for the wise counsels of morality and systematic study which helped to make the task of his zealous teachers at St. Omer a comparatively easy one. Those were times when parents recognized their responsibilities before God in regard to their children, and when children growing up to manhood and womanhood were not accustomed to think or speak of parents as old fogies or "back numbers," but observed the injunction contained in the Fourth Commandment. And no matter what the cares of State or business that demanded his attention this fine old-fashioned Catholic recognized that his first duty always and before everything was his homage to God through the medium of his religion.

The intimate connection between literature and religion, and the importance of system in reading, were to Charles Carroll truths brought home personally in the course of a long and practical experience. These truths he wished not to be lost, but to be handed down. Thus we find him writing to his son, even in the midst of political distractions arising from the Federalist controversy, and the parting of the ways between the Washington and Adams school and that of Jefferson, such sage sentiments as the following:

"You must exercise not only your body, but mind, both will become torpid and diseased, if exercise and study be neglected and disused. Accustom yourself to think, and when you read, read with attention, and for improvement, not to kill time, which always hangs heavily on idlers. Pursue this method; after you have been reading till your attention begins to flag, reflect on what you have read, examine the justness of the author's thoughts, and compare them with your own on the same subject; if it be scientific and argumentative, examine whether the inferences are logically drawn from the premises; if merely literary, endeavor to treat the same topic, and try whether you can express your sentiments as justly, as neatly and concisely as the author. The most beautiful thoughts are always expressed in the plainest language which ought to resemble

the dress of an elegant woman, and be *simplex munditiis.* The most sublime and affecting passages in Virgil, and even in Shakespeare, who is too often turgid, are clothed in such language. It is this charm which endears the poetry of Pope to every classic reader.

"In improving your mind, remember your God. The fear of the Lord, says the wise man, is the beginning of wisdom; without virtue there can be no happiness; and without religion, no virtue; consider yourself as always in the presence of the Almighty, if this sentiment be strong and vivid, you will never sin or commit any action you would be ashamed to commit before man. *Vitae bene anteald,* says Tully, *jucundissema est recordation;* and Pope sings: 'and peace, oh virtue, peace is all thy own'. God bless you."

Charles Carroll was opposed to the war of 1812 with Great Britain, and one of his reasons—perhaps the strongest—was his conviction that Napoleon was a sort of monster, threatening the ruin of everything in Church and State in Europe. He seemed to fail in appreciating the intense indignation and resentment which the preposterous claim of Great Britain to a right to search American vessels in pursuit of British-born seamen was regarded by his fellow-countrymen. Yet his letters on this subject deserve attention, not merely at the present conjuncture, but at all times, because of the fact that his observations on the evils of war and the false and misleading pretenses under which it is often sprung on nations are applicable to almost every instance in the recollection of contemporary or historian.

Writing to General Harper, after the war was over, he says:

"I have read with pleasure your speech on the late resolutions moved by you in the Senate. It seems Mr. King spoke with asperity against the practice of impressing American seamen; no doubt it was and ever will be abused, but how can it be prevented but by a law excluding foreign seamen from our public and private vessels? Even a law will not be effectual without proper provisions to be executed under the inspection of consuls of foreign powers in our principal seaports. Unless a prohibition sanctioned by an act of Parliament and of Congress perfectly reciprocal takes place, and is executed on both sides with good faith, to exclude from British vessels of war and merchantmen American seamen, and *vice versa* British seamen from our vessels, public and private, the practice of impressment so injurious and justly complained of will most certainly lead to war in the course of years, between the two countries. War I consider as a great calamity, and having a stronger influence in corrupting the morals of a nation even than a long peace, and therefore most weighty and just should be the cause to justify engaging in it; I think with Cicero, *nullum bellum justum,*

nisi necessarium. . . . Again, a few thoughts on war and its causes; they are frequently concealed from the public, springing more from low intrigues, antipathies, ambition of individuals, and plausible pretences of violated national honor, than from the ostensible and alleged reasons and topics set forth in declarations. Collisions of interest and real grounds of quarrel, will, no doubt, sometimes arise, especially between maritime and commercial nations envious and jealous of each other. But if rulers were wise they would, at least ought, to resort before the sword is drawn, to pacific negotiations, carried on with good faith, free from irritation and in the spirit of peace, avoiding hatred and mutual reproaches. "Such are my sentiments: *si quid novisti rectius istis candidus impesti, si non, his utere mecum.*"

The closing scene of his life is thus described by Dr. Richard Stewart:

"It was toward sundown in the month of November, and very cold weather. In a large room—his bedroom—a semicircle was formed before a large, open fire-place. The venerable old man was in a large easy-chair; in the centre, before him, a table with blessed candles, an antique silver bowl of holy water and a crucifix; by his side the priest, Rev. John E. Chaunce, President of St. Mary's College, and afterwards Bishop of Natchez, in his rich robes, about to offer him the last rites of the Holy Catholic Church. On each side of his chair knelt a daughter and grandchildren, with some friends, making a complete semicircle; and just in the rear, three or four old negro servants, all of the same faith, knelt in the most venerating manner. The whole assemblage made up a picture never to be forgotten. The ceremony proceeded. The old gentleman had been for a long time suffering from weak eyes, and could not endure the proximity of the lights immediately before him. His eyes were, therefore, kept closed, but he was so familiar with the forms of this solemn ceremony that he responded and acted as if he saw everything passing around. At the moment of offering the Host he leaned forward without opening his eyes, yet responsive to the word of the administration of the holy offering. It was done with so much intelligence and grace that no one could doubt for a moment how fully his soul was alive to the act."

The last recorded words of this great and gracious patriarch are impressive and memorable beyond any ever spoken on the same subject. They are given on the authority of those who attended him:

"I have lived to my ninety-sixth year; I have enjoyed continued health, I have been blessed with great wealth, prosperity and most of the good things which the world can bestow—public approbation, esteem, applause; but what I now look back on with the greatest satisfaction to myself is, that I have practiced the duties of my religion."

J. O.

Scientific Chronicle.

"BLOOD AND IRON" IN A PHYSIOLOGICAL SENSE.

It is by no means a new discovery that iron plays an important part in the maintenance of the human system, but it is a distinct advance in the curriculum of science to find an attempt at explanation why this is so. In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a French scientist, M. Dastré, last year essayed that delicate task. Iron, he said, exists in plants and animals simply because it abounds in nature; it is nature's great colorist; it gives colors to plants, to the plumage of birds and the furs of animals. This may be extremely satisfactory to the author of the treatise, but it seems to an outsider to answer the question *how* the iron is there, rather than *why* the fact is so, the professed object of the inquiry. This is the common weakness of all scientific demonstration which endeavors to do too much. The function of science is, by an inscrutable natural law, restricted to analysis; when it attempts the higher synthesis it collapses like the waxen flying apparatus of Icarus in the pitiless sunlight. It seems to us that M. Dastré's line of argument is at right angles with the theory of evolution which his general propositions seem to accept as a thing understood. For instance, he postulates:

> It is probable that at the first appearance of the earlier living forms, these beings had a simpler chemical constitution than present organisms. The extremest degree of simplicity that we can imagine still requires four elements: carbon, oxygen, hydrogen and nitrogen, which are necessary to form the fundamental organic molecule. The other elements, iron one of the last among them, were doubtless added successively by a sort of chemical adaptation of the living creature to the environment that constantly offered them. To speak in the language of the chemists, this faculty of accommodation or adaptation depends on the aptitude of the fundamental organic molecule to join to itself successively the atomic groups that are of widest occurrence around it and that correspond best to its functions. In simpler terms, the circulation of matter between living and inanimate nature and the necessary accommodation of these two, one to another, require that animals and plants should be formed of the same clay as the earth on which they live.

Here the proposition is that the chemical elements that entered into the natural composition of animals were not transmitted from one species of fauna to another, but added at successive epochs. Does not this fact infer special creation of different species instead of evolution? It is quite easy to say that it is probable that early living forms had a simpler chemical composition than present organisms; it is just as probable that they had not. Matter in its

present constituents has existed, so far as our knowledge goes, from the very beginning of creation, and as science demands proofs for everything, science must not ask us to take anything for granted without proof. An "it is probable" is a poor substitute for demonstrable fact. It is by no means a new discovery that iron is an essential constituent in the human system; we believe a good many doctors of the old school knew that the absence of iron was a chief cause of anæmia. If M. Dastré has failed in answering the questions which his reasoning raises, it seems to us that the *Literary Digest*, which published a translation of the chief portions of it, has come to his assistance. It is evident, it observes, that without iron we should die, and it is, therefore, providential that the metal should occur almost everywhere in the plant world.

SERUM TREATMENT OF PNEUMONIA.

We doubt if the recent experiments in the adaptation of serum to pneumonia cases has attracted that attention in this country which their importance demands, because of the frequency of that deadly malady here. The great Italian clinics have been deeply interested in them. The serum is prepared at the Institute Siero-Terapico in Naples, and has been in large demand since the results of the earlier experiments became known. Professors De Renzi and Pane, of the Neapolitan Medical School, had reported favorably of its results in numerous cases. From Dr. Ughetti, ordinary professor of pathology in the University of Catania, and from Dr. Cantieri, director of the Clinica Medica at Siena, highly favorable opinions as to its efficacy have come, while Professor Massolongo, head of the Civil Hospital at Verona, concludes a careful and minutely detailed report as follows: "My impression as to the 'siero anti-pneumonico' is this, that it is more efficacious than any other agent."

The foregoing facts were set out in a more elaborate way in the *Lancet* last summer, but, so far as we have been enabled to judge, the matter has not been followed with that interest which its great importance should excite, owing, no doubt, to the outbreak of war, the spread of the bubonic plague and other distracting causes. Pneumonia we have always with us, while those other calamities are temporary and transient; hence it is probable that the subject of its successful treatment will soon awaken wide attention in medical circles.

STRANGE USES FOR LIMESTONE.

Dean Swift's extravagant fancy of sunbeams extracted from cucumbers is hardly further removed from the seemingly improbable than some of the transmutations now being constantly realized in the scientific world. We behold trees converted into paper, and paper in its turn converted into artillery, and artillery—well, when the era of universal and inviolable peace has come, we shall find artillery, no doubt, converted into something better than the last word of an international polemic. Now we hear of something more astonishing still—dress fabrics from the hard rocks. An Indiana chemist has applied for patents on a process for making wool from limestone. After some sort of chemical treatment the rock is subjected to a drawing-out process, by which, it is said, it is converted into the finest and most pliable wool, of beautiful white color and soft as down. Many industrial applications of this product are apparent, but a most notable probability is that it may be woven into fabrics for clothing, etc. Experiments are now in progress to determine its capabilities and limitations in this respect. If it be found that it can be woven into a satisfactory fabric and that it can be suitably dyed, it would certainly be a most important product. As it is both waterproof and fireproof, and quite approaches indestructibility, one would have to patronize one's tailor very infrequently. This discovery may be regarded as a faint clue to the connection between animate and inanimate matter, if we take into account the well-known fact that it is sheep which are fed on a limestone soil which furnish the finest fleeces.

PROGRESS THROUGH EVOLUTION—WITH A DRAWBACK.

The eminent Italian criminologist, Professor Lombroso, will accept the theory of the evolutionists regarding progressive development—but with a rider of his own appended. His theory of evolution is a novel one. Natural progress, in his view, is the progress of the pendulum—for every forward step there is a corresponding backward one. Improvement in one direction means retrogression in another. And, indeed, if we accept the distinguished physiologist's propositions as tenable we shall find that he establishes the theories of the Darwinian evolutionists so completely as to double them over on themselves, like a folding table. The task of Sisyphus rolling his stone up the infernal slope might be taken as the example of the sort of evolution which we find remaining after Professor Lombroso has passed it through his intellectual

mill. Some of his propositions on the subject are as startling as novel. For instance these.

The vertebrates gain their greater individual power of defense at the expense of a diminution of their progeny. The superior animals and plants lose in adaptability what they gain in evolution, so that while inferior species may await indefinitely in lethargy the conditions favorable to their development without suffering from it, and withstand even for thousands of years a deficiency of air and water, or may even change their form and needs with a change in their environment (the *Mucor mucedo*, for example, which in the absence of oxygen transforms itself into a saccharomyces tube), the superior animals die on account of a few degrees of heat, dryness, or pressure more or less than the normal. The metazoans gain their increased differentiation at the expense of the almost eternal life which belongs to the protozoans, the only forms of life which possess the property of rejuvenation.

But more suggestive and more fatal to the hypothesis that evolution means passing from a lower to a higher condition are the professor's postulations regarding the human race. In the following passages will be found the kernel of his argument:

The white race, in comparison with savages and many beasts, has lost the sense of direction which even the smallest birds possess. And there are many facts which might be offered to show that with the invention of the alphabet and the development of speech it has lost important faculties with which some peculiar public functionaries among the ancients, like prophets and magi, were endowed. And it is certainly true that the greater nervous intensity of the life of civilized man, and the greater conveniences of his life, are accompanied by a lesser acuteness of the senses, a weakened power of resisting external agents, a lesser invulnerability. And we of the nineteenth century pay for our greater analytic perfection acquired through the division of labor by the loss of our faculty of synthesis. We boast of surpassing our ancestors in morals, but we have lost their sense of hospitality, and their patriotic and religious altruism; and if we are not more cruel than barbarians, we are able to contemplate their cruelty with indifference, as for example, the massacre of the Armenians. And from that time to time the infamies of Panama or the Roman Bank nians. And from time to time the infamies of Panama or the Roman Bank reveal to us even among our highest officials a corruption worthy of the Roman Empire.

Here is food for the moralist no less than the scientist. It is rare to find men of a highly scientific turn admitting the influence of religion as a softener of man's barbarian tendencies; and in raising the point in this way Professor Lombroso will have done good service in stirring up the sequent inquiry *why* we have lost our religious and our patriotic altruism—whence emanated that modern spirit of selfishness and indifference to any sort of patriotism save that implied in a community of selfish commercial aims which seems to be the ruling spirit of the age.

ARE MALARIA AND MOSQUITOES CORRELATED.

It is the theory of Surgeon-Major Ross, of the British army, that to the virtue of hospitality among our gentle friends, the mosquitoes, we owe the superabundance of malaria. He sees reason to suppose that the mosquito is the "extra-corporal or alternative

host" of the malaria parasite. The British Government is so far interested in his theory that he has been sent out to India, with instructions to the authorities there to afford him every facility to investigate the question on the ground. It is strange, though, that he should have gone so far in this scientific quest, when he could have done so in a locality so much nearer—to wit, New Jersey, whose malaria and whose mosquitoes are, it is generally conceded, first of the first.

THE X-RAYS IN THERAPEUTICS.

Rapid progress is being made in the control of the powers of the X-rays so as to make them serviceable without corresponding drawback. Their value is being demonstrated in the European schools of medicine in a very striking way. A couple of examples are quoted in the London *Times* from its Vienna correspondent. He gives some interesting particulars communicated by Dr. Edward Schiff, lecturer at the Vienna University, at the last sitting of the Imperial and Royal Medical Society. A series of experiments conducted by Dr. Schiff and his assistant proved that these rays could be used for the cure of disease in a manner capable of perfect control by means of a more or less intense application for a longer or shorter period, producing reaction in the exact degree required. In this way it has been possible for the lecturer, on the one hand, to remove hair from parts of the body where it constituted a disfigurement, without causing the slightest inflammation, while, on the other hand, he has been able to treat lupus with uniform success by means of an artificial inflammation, the intensity of which he was in a position to increase or reduce at will. The results secured by the new method, both in the removal of superfluous hair and the treatment of lupus, were demonstrated in the persons of some of Dr. Schiff's patients.

UTILIZATION OF WASTE PRODUCTS.

Science has not yet solved the great problem of the proper utilization of waste matter. The quantity of such refuse which is being continuously projected into the air and cast upon the ground to poison life and breed disease is appalling in amount. Let any inquirer pass over the Spring Garden Bridge and viaduct at Philadelphia, and observe the enormous volumes of sable smoke flung out by the omnipresent locomotives, and just think of the effects which these clouds of sooty particles must have upon the health of the residents along that portion of the line where the freight traffic

is chiefly "handled." As we contemplate this appalling nuisance, we cannot but feel that the science of smoke consumption is in a very backward state, when it can do nothing to prevent those fuliginous streams from being projected into the air from half a hundred *vomitoria*, in one small but pestiferous area, every second of the twenty-four hours. Bad as the state of affairs is in the vicinity of large railway works, it is infinitely worse in the environment of the great ore-smelting centres. Waste products in these places are often fraught with deadly metallic poisons, and the curious feature about such criminal empoisoning of the atmosphere is that it frequently means sheer absolute waste of chemical materials that might be profitably employed in other industrial processes, if saved or diverted into other channels. There are thousands of dollars' worth of sulphur, for instance, sent up into the air every week in the copper-mine regions. This is not only a positive practical loss of money, but a positive loss to human and vegetable health and life. The extent of the loss is not to be easily estimated, but a vague notion of what it may represent may be formed from what the *Pharmaceutical Era* some time ago said on the subject:

"It is estimated that in the burning of ores in the furnaces of one Western town only some 350 tons of volatilized sulphur are poured into the atmosphere daily. The effect of this great quantity of poisonous vapor is the almost total destruction of all vegetation in and around the city. Taking the amount named as a basis of computation, we are told that the annual waste of sulphur reaches the great total of 128,000 tons, which, at the ruling price of sulphur, amounts to a most respectable sum. We are not in a position to verify these assertions, nor to estimate even approximately the total waste of sulphur in all the mining operations of the country, nor, what is a far greater task, of computing the waste in all other sorts of industrial operations. We do know, however, that manufacturers are continually striving by all means to prevent such waste of by-products, and to save them as a material source of profit. The question always to be considered is whether this can be done at a profit. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that managers of the reduction works of the West are investigating with a view to saving this enormous amount of sulphur through some financially profitable operation."

SCIENTIFIC EXPERIMENTS OF DOUBTFUL UTILITY.

We do not concur in the wholesale charges of indifference to physical suffering often levelled against scientific men, but we find evidence now and again that suffering is inflicted upon the lower

animals in pursuit of doubtful ends, or, mayhap, in the hope, if no definite end be presently in view, that something useful in unexpected directions may be the outcome. The grafting together of different parts of insects seems to belong to this category. The idea seems to be to ascertain, if possible, how nature produces her "freaks." One of the favorite amusements of German experimentalists, it appears, is the manufacture of what are called "tandem moths." The way in which this species of monstrosity is produced was recently described in *Popular Science* by Mr. Henry Webster. He says that German scientists have long been in the habit of grafting parts of tadpoles and other low forms upon different species. "The method is to take two pupæ, cut off parts, join, and close the junction by pressing paraffin on, warmed slightly so as to be plastic. In this way the pupæ of two moths or butterflies can be united tandem-wise, or back to back, breast to breast, or otherwise. Some of them emerge alive, but how far they may come forth with healthy expansion and development does not appear in the many alcoholic specimens in the biological laboratory of Columbia University, where Dr. Crampton has been experimenting on various species and combinations. The results have a crumpled look, and one would not expect that many, if any, of the grafted insects could lead an active life. The two-headed might possibly, but certainly not the tandem or the Siamese-twin combinations. The scientific interest in the subject is various, *e. g.*, the coloring where different species are united with each other." From this we gather that it is sufficient motive for the dismemberment of living creatures to seek to discover the coloring which nature produces in the subject of the experiment at the point of junction. The schoolboy who pulls the heads and wings and legs off flies generally appears to have nearly as high a reason as this.

PHANTOM CORNS.

The force of imagination, when combined with habit and long familiarity with different conditions, often produces some results that tickle our risibility. Persons who have lost limbs or fingers or toes afford numerous examples of illusions begotten by force of habit in relation to the departed piece of anatomy. Some of the illusions may produce serious and painful results, as well as laughable ones. In the Medico-Psychologic Annals (Paris) M. Pitres recently gave some curious examples of such illusions from cases that came under his own observation. With regard to those persons who had recently lost limbs, he says: "In the majority of cases the illu-

sion is so perfect and vivacious that it constantly deceives the intelligence of the individual, so imperiously does it force itself upon him. Some of those who had lost a limb, questioned by M. Pitres, declared that they felt the amputated limb frequently more really and substantially than they did the one still attached to the body. Sometimes they get to believing more firmly upon the existence of the phantom limb than upon those members that remain, as in the case of a patient of Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, who declared: 'I state only the truth when I say that I am more conscious of the existence *in place* of the limb that I lost than of the one that I saved.' Dr. Mitchell tells of a horseman who had lost an arm, and, thinking to take the reins in the amputated hand, dropped them on the neck of the horse, which was high spirited, and, leaping to one side, threw the rider, badly injuring him. Another man, who had lost his right hand, always tried to pick up his work with that hand, which invariably caused him a fit of exasperation."

But one does not feel much astonishment at temporary hallucinations. These are the result of a sort of mental automatic faculty, for the moment beyond the control of the will. Similar phenomena might be recalled by people who change their residence after living for a long period in one house. Instinctively these are often found, in moments of abstraction, wandering back to the old abode—and this, perhaps, a week or ten days after the change has been made. But the hallucination of the continuance of customary pain in amputated members leads us into deeper strata of psychology, and opens up problems of the relations between thought and matter which may not be easily solved, but must be always stimulative of healthy investigation. Ludicrous though it be to hear of a sane individual attributing sensitiveness to phantom corns, such cases must have a high scientific value. Dr. Pitres tells of some such cases. He says:

> We remember an old soldier who had lost half of both feet, and the injury had been partially repaired by a maker of artificial limbs. This man would sit for a half hour at a time rubbing the ends of his shoes, where his corns formerly were, and swearing at the pain the phantom corns were giving him. He would frequently declare: "There's going to be a change of the weather—my corns are hurting me." On being reminded that he had no corns, he would say: "Never mind! I feel 'em all the same."

RELATION OF DIET AND SOCIOLOGY TO INSANITY.

Governmental reports for a few years back note a very grave increase in insanity in Ireland. This fact has not attracted the attention which it demands, because insanity, if not contagious, is hereditary, and the causes which originate fresh forms are always operative. Two reasons are offered for the growth of this affliction

among the Irish people of the poorer class—the increase of consumption of tea by the peasantry, and the outbreak of a passion for methylated spirits and ether. It may be in the recollection of some yet living when the modern luxury of tea was almost unknown to the simple peasantry in Ireland. But the "free-trade" shibboleth of a "free breakfast table" has changed all that. In place of the pastoral diet of milk and meal and wholesome vegetables, the Irish peasantry are now driven back upon doctored "tea" and other vile products of spurious civilization, alcoholic compounds included; and the medical officers report a grave increase in the number of insane as a consequence. In the South and West of Ireland the doctors have no hesitation in attributing the growth of insanity among women of the class which claim the hospitality of the poor-houses and the insane asylums to the depraved appetite for "tea" which has developed itself among the peasantry. In some isolated districts of the Northwest a very extraordinary taste has arisen for another and more deadly kind of stimulant—ether, or methylated spirits. It is not unreasonable to surmise that such a morbid taste is the outgrowth of the suppression of the illicit stills in the districts where it has cropped up. For generations some wild and almost inaccessible tracts and islands in those portions of the country had been the source of trouble to the revenue officers, and the peasantry within the influence of the still had been the victims of an unnatural taste. Of recent years, however, the police have been active; the "stills" have become rarer and rarer, and the people who came within the radius of their poison, especially the older race, have been driven to the desperate straits known only to the wild poets to whom strong alcoholic drinks are indispesable, or their congeners, the hereditary drunkards. Hence the police in the Northwestern districts of Ireland report that the people in certain localities, where it is to be presumed the "potheen" distiller formerly held sway, have taken to the consumption of ether, and the ratio of insanity has had a proportionate increase. Still, this deduction is only a matter of surmise. The medical men in the South have no such difficulty in finding a cause for the large number of mentally affected among the peasantry which now come under their purview, as compared with previous years. They unhesitatingly attribute it to the increased consumption of tea, and it is a legitimate surmise that the compound held to blame is largely "doctored" by the importers or the retailers, else it would not have so deadly an effect upon the ill-fed population.

Under the peculiar circumstances which surround the case of Ireland the deductions of the medical men may be somewhat at fault. When we remember that the young and healthy portion

of the population are steadily leaving the country, we ought not to be at a loss for the reason why so large a proportion of those left behind lose their wits. Sorrow and old age are great feeders to the "written troubles of the brain;" and of these factors the residuum of the peasantry left in Ireland have had their full share for the past fifty years especially.

There is a negative side to this question, which seems to have escaped the attention of the doctors in Ireland. The country where marriages are the most frequent and the more early prospers best in the avoidance of lunacy. Marriage is a luxury in Ireland among the peasantry nowadays, and the falling off leaves its effects in the greater number of the insane and those thrown as burdens on the poor rates. Strange to say, in England, where the conditions of life are not so hard, there is also a marked decrease in the marriage rate. In the manufacturing districts early marriages are the rule, in the rural the exception, notably. The Commissioners of Lunacy for Great Britain, in their last report, had to note an alarming increase in dementia of various forms. But it is remarkable that the proportion of increase was much greater among the unmarried than the married. The London *Mail*, commenting on this fact, and analyzing the report, observes: "At every age, from twenty to sixty-five and upward, the chance of a single man going mad is much greater than the chance of a married man going mad. At ages twenty to twenty-four the 'odds' against the single man, as compared with the married man, are 55 to 10—that is, 5½ to 1—and these odds against the single man, although they become smaller as his age increases, are so much in favor of the married man that, in sober earnest, the facts now dug out and shown ought to be carefully thought over by all unmarried men. As regards women, the married women show a marked superiority over unmarried women in non-liability to insanity, but their superiority over single women is not so great as that of married men over single men." Here are some things for statesmen no less than Benedicks to ponder over.

TO EAT OR NOT TO EAT BEFORE SLEEPING.

Much has been said and written on the subject of late suppers and eating generally before retiring to rest, and the balance of opinion seems to be on the side of those who pronounce the habit to be injurious. The truth is probably that, were it a habit, and a regular one, it would be not merely harmless, but positively beneficial. Again, those who take sides in the controversy lose sight of the fact, very often, that all human beings are not alike, and

that what one may do with impunity, another may not venture on without experiencing disastrous results. Take, for instance, the case of pork as food. A supper in which this article is the chief ingredient entails, to most people, the most miserable consequences. Yet we have known pleasure seekers who often faced a supper of roast pork or pork chops with the greatest pleasure and escaped scatheless. We believe the elegant Adelina Patti was very fond of this sort of supper, and mayhap is to this day, though we have not had for some years any precise knowledge on the subject. The eminent Irish singer, Catharine Hayes, had, it is recorded, an inordinate appetite for oysters. It is said that she would eat as much as half a hundred of these bivalves, washed down with bottled stout, after her night's singing, with great gusto. Many other opera singers indulge habitually in late suppers, and it is not known that they have, as a rule, suffered in health therefrom. An eminent Italian medical authority, quoted by the *National Druggist*, maintains that the reason why many people remain weak and thin is that they refrain from food before going to bed at night. He says physiology teaches us that, in sleeping as in waking, there is a perpetual waste going on in the tissues of the body, and it seems but logical that nourishment should be continuous as well. The digestion of the food taken on at dinner time, or in the early evening, is finished, as a usual thing, before or by bedtime, yet the activity of the processes of assimilation, etc., progress for hours afterward, and, when one retires with an empty stomach, the result of this activity is sleeplessness, and an undue wasting of the system. All other creatures (says the writer), outside of man, are governed by a natural instinct, which leads those having a stomach to eat before lying down for the night. The digestive organs have no need for repose, providing, always, that the quantity of nourishment taken within the twenty-four hours does not go beyond the normal limit. The fact that the intervals between meals is short works no inconvenience, but, on the contrary, tends to the avoidance of feebleness which is the natural result of an interval extended to too great a length. Feeble persons, lean and emaciated people, and, above all, those suffering from insomnia, owe it to themselves not to retire without taking some nourishment into the stomach—bread and butter, a glass of rich milk, a few biscuits, or even a bit of juicy cold meat, for instance.

COPPER-SHEATHED RAILROAD CARS.

A passenger coach, finished with copper on the outside, instead of the usual paint and varnish, is in service on the New York,

New Haven and Hartford Railroad. The advantage claimed is that the cars are more readily kept in condition of cleanliness and brightness, and when it is necessary to send a car to the shops for an exterior overhauling it is ready for the service again in half the time required to paint and varnish it. Wood paneling and sheathing is made in precisely the same manner as at present, except a shade thinner, and a light coating of copper is formed around the wood, fitting closely into all curves and corners. All joints are water-tight. Only one car has thus far been finished in this way, and the copper on this car was oxidized, giving it a dark, glossy finish. No paint or varnish is used on the outside of the car, excepting on the roof, platform, hoods and window sash. The numbers and letters are made of cast aluminum, and are attached by screws.

FICTITIOUS VALUE OF QUARANTINE.

Medical opinions are at variance about the efficacy of quarantine as a barrier against contagious diseases. This, of course, is not altogether without precedent, and the great problem for governments, charged with the safety of the people, is to find the court of appeal from high medical authorities who recommend different principles for the warding off or destruction of plague germs when they threaten the frontiers. Quarantine is now scoffed at as an antiquated and effete precaution against any form of pestilence. The *Hospital*, which is regarded as the organ of the best scientific opinion in England, denounces the system of trying to keep out disease by such methods as worthy of the days of the Barber Surgeons. It appears that the idea of quarantine originated in the city of Milan, as a precaution against the black death. The example thus set was followed in Venice, where the first *lazaretto* was established in 1423, the disease then to be kept at bay being bubonic plague. Two centuries later the system was almost universal and had reached its full development, insomuch that very elaborate regulations were formed and enforced in this country with reference to the plague which appeared so early as in 1636, and which committed such terrible ravages in London and in some country districts, as at Eyam, between 1663 and 1666. These endeavors to exclude plague were as effectual, in the words of Sir John Simon, "as if their intention had been to bar out the east wind or the new moon;" but, notwithstanding this, the epidemic of cholera which prevailed in Europe in 1831 found not only the populace, but even the sanitary authorities of this country, prepared to trust in quarantine as their supreme hope. Notwithstand-

ing the precaution, the disease was not only introduced, but it spread with terrible rapidity, and produced a mortality of many thousands. Taught by experience, the General Board of Health, in 1849 and 1852, strenuously pointed out that quarantine could not give any but a false security for the purpose it pretended to accomplish; and, adducing illustrations of its futility and oppressiveness as commonly administered, boldly proposed, as a practical conclusion, that this country should entirely set aside its existing quarantine establishments, and should rely exclusively upon the protection it could derive from a system of local sanitary improvements. The present method is to admit disease freely, but to be on the watch for it when it comes. If plague or yellow fever were brought to any British port, the actual sick would be landed and placed in a proper hospital for the reception of infectious cases; the sound would be permitted to proceed to their several destinations, the sanitary authorities of which would be instructed to keep them under observation until all danger was past, and to send them to hospital if the disease should show itself in them, and the ship and its cargo would be subjected to disinfection.

During the last cholera epidemic many vessels brought cases of stricken to English and Irish ports, but these were dealt with effectually, as a rule, by the medical men sent out to the ships by the Board of Health, or in the port hospitals, if they were serious. This plan proved perfectly efficacious.

LION TAMERS FIND USE FOR ELECTRICITY.

The many homely uses to which electricity can be put are not less marvellous than the many great ones, but the idea of utilizing it in the menagerie appears to be the most novel and amusing of all its minor adaptations. It was a French lion tamer, named Pezon, who died a short time ago, who first hit upon the ingenious idea of turning it to this function. All the family are in the business of beast taming, and they endeavor to minimize risks by all sorts of contrivances and educational terrorism in regard to the beasts. Electricity has served them in good stead at the taming rehearsals. Live wires were placed between them and their lions and tigers. When the tamer turned his or her back the wild creature advanced to make its spring, and received a shock that was a lesson for the rest of its life. Before electricity was much in use Pezon was nearly always obliged to keep his eye fixed on that of his lion. There was something in it, they found, that subdued the animal, no matter how ferocious.

Book Notices.

Ave Roma Immortalis. Studies from the chronicles of Rome. By *Francis Marion Crawford.* Illustrated; 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 676. New York: The Mac Millan Co.

Probably no book of the year will attract so much attention, both here and in Europe, as Mr. Crawford's Rome. The subject is one of such lasting and absorbing interest, that it will always attract the attention of the reading world. It is a subject that has neither time nor space limit, for as long as time shall continue and the world shall last, immortal Rome shall stand out prominently with its thousands of years of deeds of daring, valor, heroism and bloodshed. Its foundation away back in the age of fable, centuries before the coming of Christ; its growth amidst strife and conflict; its worldly magnificence under Paganism, with all the ruins of art and architecture which Paganism has bequeathed to Christianity; its transition from the kingdom of the gods to the home of the God; all this will make it always a new subject. It is more interesting at this time, because it follows so closely on Mr. Zola's nightmare. His coming and going always reminds one of the approach and departure of a big poisonous black spider, or of some repulsive slimy thing. He went to Rome, and everything the spider touched was left swollen and inflamed; every place the snake crawled he left his slimy tracks behind him. Mr. Crawford's book is a blessed antidote for this poison. Those who have not come in contact with the noxious thing should shun it, but those who have been tainted by it should apply the remedy.

Mr. Crawford approaches his subject splendidly equipped for the work. He was born in Italy; he spent his childhood and youth in Rome, living in one of its historical palaces, and he returned to the Eternal City to spend there the best years of his mature manhood. For a long time he has been a close student of the old Latin and Italian chronicles. They are filled with true stories which are much more wonderful than the inventions of the most fanciful romancers. He has drawn freely from these chronicles to construct the story of the wonderful city.

"He begins with a brief historical study of the rise of Rome, with sketches of some of the men who made her greatness, and afterwards takes in turn the fourteen different regions or wards into which the city is divided, describing the characteristic buildings of

each as they have been in different ages, and as we see them now, and giving the histories of the people who lived and fought and loved and died in them, leaving their names and their memories to haunt the stones forever."

His series of Italian novels written about the lives of some of Rome's oldest and most distinguished families, that trace their ancestry back to the Middle Ages and beyond them, trained the novelist and prepared him for this more serious and pretentious work. Rumor says that Mr. Hall Caine, who recently paid a protracted visit to the ancient city, is about to write a book on it. The fascination of Immortal Rome is potent, and Mr. Caine's strong pen should place before the reading world a great picture. But it is only a possibility, while Mr. Crawford's is a reality, and a very pleasing, intensely interesting reality it is. It is not a mere guide book, although it possesses all the qualities of the best guide book; it is not a mere chronicle of events, although it is admirable from that point of view; it is not a history in the strict sense of the word, although it appears in historical form; but it is a combination of guide book, chronicle and history, put together with the skill of the novelist. As one reviewer has said: "This book represents the ripest thought and the most finished literary art of the author."

It must not be accepted, however, as a history of men. The author is entirely too brief to deal rightly with important historical facts. His tone of moderation and fairness throughout shows that he wishes to tell the truth, and yet his brief reference to important events, either without giving any authority, or quoting only one—perhaps the least reliable—without mentioning the others at all, is misleading. For example, speaking of the death of Alexander the Sixth, he says that he died of poison on August 18, 1503; that it had been prepared by Caesar Borgia for the Cardinal of Corneto, with whom they both dined on the evening of the 17th, and that the Pope drank it in wine by mistake. He does not give his authority for this statement, although he seems to follow Guicciardini, because he quotes him for the assertion that Alexander did not know of Caesar's intention to poison the Cardinal.

Now Mr. Crawford should have known that the best authorities all agree that the Pope was not poisoned at all, and that those who hold the poison theory contradict one another. The author whom Mr. Crawford quotes poisons Alexander with wine; Sanuto, on whom Mr. Ranke relies, ends his life with confectionery. One makes the Pope attempt the murder of his enemy; the other attributes the plot to Caesar Borgia, and says that the Pope had no knowledge of it. One removes the head of the church on the day after the feast; another lets him live for a week or more. A refer-

ence to Pastor's History of the Popes would have decided the question fairly. He speaks of Ranke's "singular obstinacy" in holding the poison theory, and calls it an "untenable proposition." He goes into details, showing that the Pope dined with the Cardinal of Corneto in the open air on the evening of August 4, the pestilential season in Rome; that many other persons were present; that all were taken sick, including the cardinal host; that Alexander recovered sufficiently to be able to attend to his business for several days, and that his sickness throughout had all the marks of Roman tertian fever. Eye witnesses are brought forward to testify to these facts, including the Pope's physician Scipio. Sanuto, whom Ranke quotes, also vouches for the story that the devil appeared to the Pope in the form of an ape. Contrast this with the story of Alexander's death, as it is told in the diary of Burchard, who certainly cannot be accused of being partial to him:

"On Saturday, August 12, 1503, the Pope fell ill, and in the evening, about the twenty-first or twenty-second hour, there came a fever which continually remained. On Tuesday, August 15, thirteen ounces of blood were drawn from him, and then supervened a tertian fever. On Thursday, August 17, at the twelfth hour, he took some medicine, and on Friday, August 18, he confessed to the Lord Peter, Bishop of Culm, who then celebrated mass in his presence, and after his own communion gave the Holy Eucharist to the Pope, who sat up in bed. There were present five cardinals. At the vesper hour, having received Extreme Unction from the Bishop of Culm, he expired."

This is very clear and straightforward, and ought to be convincing. It was to many good authorities.

Voltaire denies the poison story; Roscoe rejects it; Muratori has produced many authorities to disprove it.

Creighton, in his History of the Papacy, says: "But it (the story of the poisoning of Alexander VI.) rests on no authoritative basis. There is nothing to confirm it in the description of the Pope's illness as given by eye witnesses. * * * There is no good reason for attributing the death of Alexander VI. to other than natural causes." We have dwelt on this question because it is a good test of historical reliability.

There are other examples in the book, notably the death of Boniface VIII. On page 165 of the first volume Mr. Crawford says, speaking of Boniface VIII.: "They (his enemies) went away and left him, carrying off his treasures with them, and he returned to Rome, half mad with anger, and fell into the hands of the Orsini cardinals, who judged him not sane and kept him a prisoner at

the Vatican, where he died soon afterwards, consumed by his wrath."

Very likely this story is taken from Sismondi, who took it from Ferrettus with some modifications. But Sismondi forgot to mention, and perhaps Mr. Crawford did not know, that at the foot of the page in Ferrettus, from which the story is taken, Muratori's point blank statement is printed that the whole story is an unworthy lie. His "process" shows that he died peacefully in bed, after making a profession of faith and receiving the sacraments devoutly. No doubt his last illness was brought on or aggravated by his imprisonment at the hands of his enemies, for he was eighty-seven years old at the time, but to consume him with wrath afterwards was neither charitable nor truthful.

Three hundred years after his death his tomb was opened, and the body was found almost entirely incorrupt. The face presented a placid expression, the hands were beautifully preserved and there were no marks of violence any where, although his enemies had pictured him tearing himself and dashing his head against the walls of his prison. We are sorry that Mr. Crawford touched these questions at all, since he had not time to investigate them rightly nor space to present them fully. He could have gotten along very well without them. We call attention to them, in order to warn our readers that the book is not a reliable history of men.

The Psychology of the Saints. By *Henri Joly.* with Preface and Notes by G. Tyrrell, S. J. 12mo, pp. 184. London: Duckworth & Co. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This is the first of a series of new lives of the saints under the general editorship of M. Henri Joly, formerly professor at the Sorbonne and at the Collège de France, and author of several works on psychology, including inferior animals, great men and criminals. The authorized English translations of these books are revised by Rev. Father Tyrrell, S. J., who contributes to each volume a preface, and in some cases notes. In a letter addressed by the general editor to his collaborators he quotes Mgr. Dupanloup's saying that "there are very few lives of the saints written as they should be." He then demands for this work, "above and beyond all else a love of the saint; then a profound study of his life and spirit from original sources and contemporary documents; then the portraiture of this soul and its struggles, and of what nature and grace were within it; all this traced with simplicity, truthfulness, dignity, deep penetration and impressive detail, in such a way that the saint and his times may be faithfully represented." Care should be taken to make the saint tell his own story, for otherwise every-

thing living and individual is apt to disappear, and all saints will resemble one another too closely.

As the English editor has well said: "The old time-honored saint's life, with its emphasis on the miraculous and startling features of the portrait, its suppression of what was natural, ordinary, and, therefore, presumably uninteresting, and consequently its abandonment of all attempt to weave the human and divine into one truthful and harmonious whole, showing the gradual evolution of the perfect from the imperfect, to many minds makes no appeal whatever. * * * All this points to the need of what we might call a more subjective treatment of saints' lives than we have been accustomed to, and it is to this that the 'Psychology of the Saints' addresses itself."

We must not conclude from this that the author is going to destroy our old impressions of the holy servants of God, or to call into question anything good that has been said about them. He only desires to place them before us as they really were, and then we shall see, he claims, that "we are all formed of the same clay, and the same spirit is breathed into each one of us. We stand, as it were, on different steps of the same ladder, which springs from one and the same nature and reaches up to one and the same God. We may aggravate the original weakness of our nature by yielding to it, or we may use the help offered to us and so develop all the potential strength and beauty it possesses, but whichever course we take, we can never completely destroy a single one of the features of our complex humanity. No matter how degenerate on the one hand, or perfect on the other, they may become, our fellow-men never fail to be objects of warning or encouragement to us." One might say that this is no new doctrine. It is not brought forward as something new, but the application of it to the lives of the saints is new, or at least rare.

At different stages of the world's history the lives of the saints have been looked upon in various ways. In the ages of faith everything that was said about them was believed, and many marvelous things were said. In the succeeding age of unbelief there was a reaction—a rushing to the other extreme, and a general denial. If there had been a more careful sifting of facts and alleged facts, we should have gotten nearer to the truth, and should have retained it.

This is the end proposed in this new series of Lives, and the first volume on the Psychology of the Saints serves as an introduction.

Already three other volumes have followed, dealing with St. Au-

gustine, St. Vincent de Paul and St. Clotilda. More are promised. They are very attractive, well written, clear and brief.

Father Tyrrell's introduction to each volume is a very valuable contribution. Altogether, this series is worthy of the attention of all who are interested in Hagiography.

EPOCHS OF LITERATURE. By *Conde B. Pallen, Ph. D., LL. D.* 1898; pp. x. 201; pr. 75. St. Louis, Mo.: Herder.

To measure the scope and to appreciate the value of this work the reader must take the view-point set by the author in his preceding book on the Philosophy of Literature. Literature Dr. Pallen conceives to be the "written expression of man's various relations to the universe and its Creator." The statement is not to be measured, of course, by the Aristotelian requirements of a technical definition. It suggests, however, the principle on which is based and the norm by which are to be estimated any and all literature. For "the first principle of truth is the first principle of literature. The philosophy, therefore, of literature is to be found in the light of that first principle by which and through which all things are. * * * It is in the philosophy of the Incarnation that we must look for the philosophy of literature. By the light of the Eternal Word made manifest to men in the flesh is human life solved and harmonized. As literature is but a reflex of life, it is only in that same Eternal Word that its meaning may be read aright and its final significance interpreted." If the reader would follow the unfolding of this principle and see how in its light the deepest thought of all literature and the true inwardness of literary expression are revealed he should recur to the book in question, an account whereof besides will be found in the last April number of this REVIEW. The fuller illustration, however, and concrete application of the principle are furnished by Dr. Pallen's latest work on the Epochs of Literature. The Epochs here surveyed are the Homeric, the Roman, the Transition to the Middle Ages and Dante, the latter period, and lastly the post-Dantean to our own time. Over these epochs, in which the masterpieces of the world's literature have been produced, the reader is given a comprehensive view, and at the same time an insight such as he could obtain, if anywhere at all, only from many a book not to be found in our English speech. He will not meet with a vast area littered with the dry bones of facts and dates, but he will move over the richest fields of unifying principles and co-ordinated truths in which alone the intellect is at ease, whilst for his imagination he will find is an ever moving panorama of illustration and allusion, whose vanity

gives to the philosophic unity the charm of a genuine beauty. By way of example of this twofold characteristic of the artless thought and expression, the fixing of the deeply intellectual into a vividly imaginative setting, may be quoted the concluding paragraph of his work. He has just described the havoc wrought in the unity, the Divine element of literature, by the religious and philosophical dissensions and scepticism of the past three centuries, and he now turns to the signs of the present and the hopes of the future: "The literature of the day overflows with the manifestation of a passionate desire for it knows not what. It is an uncultured faith, vague, formless. In Carlyle it groaned and roared with volcanic energy, but its object was no better defined in his thunder than in the soft fluting of Amiel. Its froth and its fume bubble in multitudinous fiction, and it rustles in the indefinite pages of innumerable magazines. It pipes everywhere in verse and rhapsodies in prose; it is at one moment a soft æstheticism, and the next a burning humanitarianism. It ranges earth and sky, sea and land, searches everywhere for a fixed object of its passion, looks everywhere—save at the cross on Calvary. No false light flashes on the horizon, but it rushes to it in eager expectation, yet never sees the great Light on the mountain which has been burning there with a Divine splendor for two thousand years. But, though it be blind, it has at least profited over the preceding century by awaking to the realization of the desire of faith in the heart of humanity. The eighteenth century lived on the bagatelles of a scoffing scepticism; the nineteenth has realized the need of belief, though it has not known how to formulate it. It hungers and thirsts, not indeed after justice, for he alone possesses justice who knows truth, but after something which was lost in the wilderness of doubt, through which it wandered for a hundred years, something to fill the void which the age of Voltaire left in the famished soul. It cries aloud for that something; it cannot articulate it in speech; for it has forgotten the power of the Divine Word, which alone bestows the gift of spiritual language. Tennyson fitly describes the century's need when he compared the man of the nineteenth century to

> 'An infant crying in the night,
> An infant crying for the light,
> And with no language but a cry.'

"It is in truth an age of darkness sending forth its wail for light. But when and how will the Light come? When the heart of humanity is made pure, for the pure in heart shall see God. And the Light will be made manifest from the mountain heights, where it has burned undimmed even amidst generations of the blind. Faith is the hunger of the human heart, faith in God its only ap-

peasement; faith in the Incarnate Word its only salvation. The illumination of that Divine Word in the human intellect will alone bring light. Faith in Christ and in Him crucified is the great need of the human heart; the philosophy of the Incarnation, the great need of the human intellect. That heart and that intellect slept in the eighteenth century; it has awakened in the nineteenth and is still bewildered by the fantasies of its dreams. But in the fact of its awakening there is hope, and when the mist and the vapor which still steam upward from that valley of death in the century gone by shall have rolled their dim clouds away and the vision cleared, the generations to come will see the undimmed splendor of the light on the mountain, and man once again abide in the unity of truth under its Divine Illumination."

The canvas here unfolded is a large one. The main subject, the color, the light and shade, require no keen discernment and no highly cultured artistic sense to be appreciated. But he who wishes to understand the fuller meaning of the artist's thought must study the other historical and idealistic pictures arrayed in these "Epochs of Literature." The deeper realization, however, of them all can be had only from the "Philosophy of Literature." The two works together constitute the true science of literary art—the one the analysis, the other the synthesis; the one the matter, the other the form; the one the body, the other the soul of the complete structure.

F. P. S.

MEDITATIONS ON CHRISTIAN DOGMA. By *Rev. James Bellord.* Introduction by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Vol. I, pp. xxv. 269. Vol. II., pp. 363: London and New York (120 W. 60th St.): Catholic Truth Society, 1898.

It used to be rumored about among the friends of a certain theologian, who was prominently in our midst some years ago, that he was wont to take as the matter of his morning meditation an article from the *Summa* of St. Thomas. The telling of this simple fact was generally accompanied by and was expected to elicit a certain amount of admiration. But surely there is nothing remarkable in any one at all familiar with the *Summa*—much less a profound theologian—adopting it as a meditation book. There are comparatively few articles in that immense store house of religious truth that do not contain abundant food for the reflecting mind, as well as for the willing heart. It was the consciousness of this ready adaptability of the *Summa* to meditational use that led the Doctor of the Sorbonne, Louis Bail, to construct from it his *Theologie Affective ou St. Thomas en Meditation.* The value of this adaptation of St. Thomas may be estimated from the many editions into which its folio volumes ran during the middle years of the

seventeenth century. The work is long since out of print and out of the book mart. So, too, is its revised and amended version by the Abbé Chévércan in five goodly octavos, which passed through several editions about the middle of the present century. Even, however, were the voluminous works of Bail and Chévércan still to be had, they would hardly be available for meditational use at the present time. Besides the objection of bulk, the matter and style are in no small degree antiquated and over diffuse. It has been a happy idea on the part of Fr. Bellord to recast the *Theologie Affective* and adapt it to present needs and tastes. In his revision he has retained the framework, but has not thought it desirable to adhere closely to the matter of the original. Some of the meditations are condensed from Bail, but many more have been drawn from other sources—from whatever, indeed, the author has found available for his purpose—so that such writers as even Max Nordau, Benjamin Kidd and Herbert Spencer have been laid under contribution. The result is an eminently solid, well illustrated and clearly written exposition of Christian dogma. The author's aim everywhere is to make the affective elements of meditation spring naturally from the speculative. Accordingly he unfolds in each point some dogmatic truth in the light of revelation as well as of nature, and so directs the exposition that it may pass from the intellect to the affections and thus stimulate the will to practical results in conduct. The work is intended not only for the use of the clergy, to whom, of course, it will be specially welcome, both as an aid to daily meditation and in the preparation of sermons, but for the educated laity as well, who will find in it an instructive, practical, edifying and at the same time, from a literary point of view, most attractive exposition of the entire context of dogmatic religion.

Clerical Studies. By *Very Rev. J. B. Hogan, S. S., D. D.* President of St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass. 8vo, pp. 499. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co.

"The present volume is a re-issue, with slight alterations, of a series of articles originally printed in the *American Ecclesiastical Review.*"

They were so well received when they first appeared, and so many persons asked for them in book form, that the author wisely consented to republish them.

He speaks of his essays as "observations on ecclesiastical studies," and in writing them he had in mind two classes of persons: "Young men in training for the priesthood, and young priests who have gone forth, as all must do, imperfectly equipped for their

work, but having it in their power, during the early years of their ministry, to make up for what is still wanting." He does not exclude other readers of maturer years, but hopes to reach all who continue to cultivate their minds, and who try to keep pace with the general intellectual advancement of the age. The author has taken up his pen to write on this subject in response to pressing exhortations from Pius IX. and Leo XIII. to the bishops of the world to watch carefully over the mental and moral training of young clerics. With these exhortations before it, the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore formulated its decree, *De Clericorum Educatione et Instructione*. The present work is meant to show how the various studies referred to in that decree may be pursued with greatest advantage. The author confines himself to the higher studies taught in the seminaries, beginning with the Natural Sciences, and treating in turn of Philosophy, Apologetics, Theology—all classes, Canon Law, Liturgy, Homiletics, Church History, the Bible and the Fathers.

We shall not say a word about the excellence of the work. The author's piety, learning and experience stamp everything that comes from his pen with the seal of excellence. The book is a guide to study for priests and seminarians, and it ought to do a great deal of good.

In one respect we think that it can be improved—by adding to each essay a bibliography. It has been done in some instances, and partially done in others. One of the hardest questions asked by the student is, what is the best book on a subject. Some years ago we had educated reading booksellers, who could point the way, but they have nearly all died, and now most booksellers handle books as they would handle any other article of merchandise. This is not said disparagingly, but it is a statement of fact, made in order to induce the learned author of *Clerical Studies*, to make the next edition of his excellent book, and we hope that it will be called for soon, still more excellent.

Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China. By *M. Huc.* Translated from the French by W. Hazlitt. Reprint edition; illustrated with fifty engravings on wood; 8vo, 2 vols., pp. 667. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co.

Here is an old friend in a new dress. An old friend, because it first came from the press many years ago; and in a new dress, because the Open Court Publishing Company has brought out a new edition with new type and illustrations, making it a very attractive book. No one surely could have foreseen that the two humble French Lazarist missionaries, M. Huc and M. Gabet, who at

the request of the Pope spent the years 1844-5-6 in Tartary, Thibet and China, would give to the world a book of travels which should be the standard work on the subject for more than fifty years. And yet that is exactly what has happened. When the book appeared first it created a sensation, and it was soon translated into English and German. The public saw at once that it was a storehouse of information for the ethnologist, the geographer, the student of religious customs and the traveller. It had a large sale, soon went out of print, and in recent years it has been known only to scholars and historians.

But it has never been equalled. It is the standard work to-day on those countries, as it was fifty years ago. The world has not gained much knowledge about that far-off region, and, therefore, a new edition of this curious and useful book is most welcome.

In its latest form it is very attractive. The type and paper are excellent, and the covers are inviting. It ought to have a good reception, especially in view of the strong interest which the East has recently excited in America and Europe. It is a pity that the writer of the publisher's preface did not read the preface to the book, for then he would not have spoken of the Lazarist missionaries as Jesuits.

NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES. By *Right Rev. Mgr. Conaty, D. D.*, rector of the Catholic University, Washington. 12 mo, pp. 256. New York: Benziger Brothers.

When Monsignor Conaty was rector of the Church of the Sacred Heart, at Worcester, Mass., he began the work which has recently come from the press in complete form. He was moved to undertake it by the encyclical of Leo XIII. on the study of the Holy Scriptures, and by the desire to interest the children of his school in the life of Christ as told in the New Testament. The lessons were afterwards printed in the form of leaflets, and at the request of many pastors and teachers, they have now been put into a book.

In some preliminary chapters the author treats of the history of the Bible, and the rest of the book is taken up with the life of our Divine Lord as it is found in the gospels. Indeed, the work might have been called more accurately the gospel life of Christ. It does not take the student into the Acts of the Apostles or the Epistles, or the Apocalypse.

As the author says, this manual does not pretend to be a treatise on all the Sacred Scriptures, or on all the New Testament, or even a complete study of the life of Christ. It is rather a collection of lessons on some of the important events in His life from the Annunciation to the Ascension.

"The system of instruction followed in this manual is catechetical, consitsing of memory texts, moral thoughts, questions and answers."

The best recommendation that the book can have is the demand for it even before its publication. It is nicely made and fully illustrated. It should do all that the author expects from it, even leading, as he hopes it will, to other and better text books.

STUDIES IN CHURCH HISTORY. By *Rev. Reuben Parsons, D. D.* Vol. V. Century XIX (part I); large 8vo, pp. 629. New York: Pustet & Co.

Doctor Parson's great work is drawing to a close. The original intention was to complete it in five volumes, but Catholic Church History has been made very rapidly in the nineteenth century, and the historian who understands the importance of events finds it impossible to crowd them into even one of these large volumes. To treat exhaustively, and nearly exclusively, of the controverted points of church history was the original intention of the author. He has not departed from it, and, therefore, he finds himself confronted with abundance of material in the present century. He handles it in his usual scholarly, skilful maner, and under his hand such subjects as Pius VII., Gregory XVI., Lacordaire, Ozanam, the Oxford Movement and the Vatican Council become very attractive.

This volume adds very much to the value of the work as a whole, and the student of church history will await with interest its completion.

THE WORLD'S UNREST, AND ITS REMEDY. By *James Field Spalding.* 12mo, pp. 240. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

Most of the essays which make up this volume were published originally in the Sacred Heart Review, and they are reproduced now in book form, because so many of the old readers asked for them. They deal with the unrest of the religious world of to-day, and the author, who has experienced this unrest and found a remedy for it, here sets it before his readers. He sums up everything in the declaration that the genuine authority of the Catholic Church set forth by such thinkers as St. Augustine among the ancients, and Cardinal Newman among moderns, first brought him face to face with his obligation to truth, and led him to that true haven of rest, the Roman Catholic Church. He has succeeded admirably in showing the remedy for the great religious unrest of modern times by explaining clearly and attractively the doctrines of the church. It is an excellent book for earnest, intelligent non-Catholics.

MARIAE COROLLA, A WREATH FOR OUR LADY. By *Father Edmund, C. P.* Author of Passion Flowers, etc. 12mo, pp. 201. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This is the second volume of Father Hill's poems. The first appeared about a year ago, under the title, "Passion Flowers." A third volume is promised. Passion Flowers was reviewed at length in the last number of the Quarterly.

The present volume is made up principally of poems in honor of the Blessed Virgin. Hence the title, which means. "A Crown for Mary." The author's purpose is to honor the Mother of God, to teach Catholics how to honor her, and to show to non-Catholics that such honor is in every way reasonable.

All that was said on a former occasion of the excellence of Father Edmund's work may be here repeated. The book is beautifully made, and is uniform with Passion Flowers.

MEDITATIONS ON THE LOVE OF GOD. Translated from the Spanish of Fay Diego de Estella, by *H. W. Pereira, M. A.* 12mo, pp. 151. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The author was a Franciscan, who lived during the middle half of the sixteenth century. He wrote several works, incluidng one on the "Vanity of the World," and a "Life of St. John the Evangelist." The present work is made up of twenty-six meditations on the love of God considered in himself, in his relations to us, and in his Divine Son.

The book has been highly recommended by masters of the spiritual life.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE VENERATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN; Her Feasts, Prayers, Religious Orders and Sodalities. By *Rev. B. Rohmer, O. S. B.* Adapted by Rev. Richard Brennan, LL. D. 12mo, pp. 336. New York: Benziger Brothers.

LAYS OF THE KNIGHTS. By *Clement William Barrand, S. J.* 12mo, pp. 164. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

A VICTIM OF THE SEAL OF THE CONFESSION; a true story. By *Rev. Joseph Spillman, S. J.* 12mo, pp. 324. St. Louis: B. Herder.

ENCHIRIDION GRADUALIS ROMANI SIVE CANTIONES MISSAE PRO DIVERSITATE TEMPORIS ET FESTORUM. New York: Pustet & Co.

TRUTH AND ERROR; or, the Science of Intellection. By *J. W. Powell.* 8vo, pp. 428. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co.

CARDINAL LAVIGERIE. By *Rev. J. G. Beane.* 12mo, pp. 145. Baltimore, St. Joseph's Seminary.

ST. JOSEPH OF JESUS AND MARY. By *Rev. Matthew Russell, S. J.* 12mo, pp. 159. Dublin: Gill & Son. Received from Benziger Brothers.

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE AND THE VOWS. By *Monseigneur Charles Gay.* Translated from the French. 12mo, pp. 276. London: Burns & Oakes. New York: Benziger Brothers.

STRIVING AFTER PERFECTION; a treatise addressed especially to Religious. By *Rev. Joseph Banna, S. J.* 12mo, pp. 264. New York: Benziger Brothers.

ILLUSTRATED EXPLANATION of the Holy Sacraments and Sacramentals. Adapted from the original of Rev. H. Rolfus, D. D., by *Very Rev. Ferreol Girardey, C.S. S.R.* 12mo, pp. 307. New York: Benziger Brothers.

GUIDE TO TRUE RELIGION. By *Rev. P. Woods.* 12mo, pp. 301. Baltimore: Murphy & Co.

RHETORIC AND ORATORY. By *Rev. J. F. X. O'Connor, S. J.* 12mo, pp. 338: Boston: Heath & Co.

MEDITATION LEAFLETS. By a *Father* of the Society of Jesus. 12mo, pp. 115. London: Burns & Oaks. New York: Benziger Brothers.

JEROME SAVONAROLA; a Sketch. By *Rev. J. L. O'Neil, O. P.* 8vo, pp. 232. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co.

FANTASIES FROM DREAMLAND. By *Ernest Gilliat Smith.* Illustrated; quarto, parchment; pp. 40. London: Elkin Matthews.

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